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Yefimov Announces 800-Plane Cut for Air Force

LD2008091889 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Under the current unilateral reductions of the Soviet Armed Forces, the Air Force will be cut by 800 planes. That reduction equals an entire air force of such countries as Federal Germany or France. This has been announced by the Soviet Air Force commander, Aleksandr Yefimov, on Aviation Day, celebrated in this country today.

Marshal Yefimov explains that with the Soviet defense doctrine this reduction is reasonable, since purely defensive needs are adequately covered by a small force. He said most of the planes being withdrawn will be scrapped.

Soviet-U.S. Chemical Arms Talks Viewed

'Considerable Headway' Made

LD2108135789 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—By TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev:

The Soviet Union and the United States are holding the 12th round of consultations on a chemical weapons ban in Geneva in addition to multilateral talks at the disarmament conference.

The previous round brought the sides close to a solution of the chemical ban problem. Soviet and U.S. experts jointly drafted a document on procedures for short-notice verification inspections.

The sides agreed in principle on the amount and types of chemical weapons to be eliminated within a 10-year term.

On the whole, efforts to draft an international convention on a chemical weapons ban have been marked by considerable headway. The talks have reached a turning-point, and if the sides pool efforts, they are expected to solve the few fundamental problems that remain.

In particular, the U.S. side has not yet given a positive response to the main verification issue, namely whether or not verification will cover all privately-owned chemical factories, above all those not connected with state orders, as well as factories belonging to U.S. transnational corporations, no matter where they are located.

Whether verification is comprehensive or selective will depend on the solution of this problem, as it may turn out that, in socialist countries, inspections will cover all enterprises, whereas in capitalist countries some enterprises will not be subject to inspection.

The sides are yet to work out procedures for eliminating the accumulated stocks of chemical weapons, necessarily including U.S. binary weapons, and facilities manufacturing them.

The achievement of constructive solutions as regards verification of military and civilian chemical facilities seems to be quite possible.

In a hope-inspiring move, the chemical manufacturers' association, which affiliates most U.S. chemical companies, has declared its support for agreement on a chemical weapons ban and its consent to inspections, although describing these inspections as an inevitable evil.

The problem of eliminating binary weapons is more difficult to solve. During the previous round of talks, the sides made progress in this respect but things are proceeeding too slowly.

Moreover, the United States continues manufacturing binary weapons and developing new kinds of binary munitions for future weapon systems.

This year, the U.S. will spend about 100 million dollars on research into and production of binary chemical weapons and the development of a new generation of the weapons.

This prompts the question, what's the use of spending huge funds on what is to be eliminated in the near future?

U.S. President George Bush has repeatedly stated his personal desire to achieve a full-scale, effectively verifiable and genuinely global ban on chemical weapons. So, if the talks are proceeding well, why not stop producing new weapons?

For its part, the Soviet Union unilaterally stopped the production of chemical weapons way back in April 1987.

During the current round of talks, the Soviet delegation emphasised that it will seek agreement on all unsolved problems.

U.S. Urged To End Production

LD2108221189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2045 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] The 12th round of the Soviet-U.S. consultations on the banning of chemical weapons is continuing in Geneva. It is, as it were, an addition to the multilateral talks which are going on within the framework of the Geneva conference on disarmament.

It must be said that the preparation of the draft of the international convention of banning chemical weapons has moved forward considerably. I think it may be said that the talks have now reached a true turning point and it is important now to unite efforts in order to resolve the

remaining questions. In particular, the basic issue of verification [kontrol]: Will all private enterprises of the chemical industry not connected with state orders be subject to it, and also enterprises of U.S. transnational corporations, regardless of where they are situated?

So far, as is known, the United States is not thinking about renouncing the production of chemical weapons, particularly binary ones. And while the negotiations in Geneva are, as it were, moving ahead successfully on the whole, it seems the time is right to end the production of more and more types of chemical weapons in the United States, all the more so since our country, I shall remind you, declared an end to this production on its territory as far back as April of the year before last.

Belorussian Military Maneuvers Described

LD2008055789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Active combat training operations have begun at the maneuvers in the Belorussian Military District. Our special correspondent Aleksandr Korshunov reports from the region of the exercises.

[Korshunov] Contrary to the widespread idea that battles begin early in the morning, the forces of the North moved into the attack against the South's opposition in the daytime. First, a flight of fighter-bombers, looking strange with their camouflage patches and stripes, crossed the clear, completely cloudless sky with an ascending rushing noise. These were the reconnaisance aircraft of the South's front line, which disappeared over a distant forest, rising in the air, after they had carried out a bombing strike.

Suddenly, the entire surrounding area shook from rumbling, deep tremors which seemed to come from underground. This was the artillery coming into action. Over the crest of a distant elevation, a strange wave began to rise up in the field, at first silently. After a few minutes the low rumble of diesel engines rose up in this gray-brown tidal wave: Dozens of tanks and armored vehicles were on the move. With this wedge of heavy steel the North was trying to split the South's defenses. In the end, the attackers destroyed the first line of defense, or deformed it in places. The sound of cannon-fire moved on and became quieter.

Foreign military observers and journalists, including Westerners, were present in a special observation area. I briefly interviewed (Mogin Rubinstein), a commentator from Danish television.

[(Rubinstein) in English] You understand that we've only really been going for about 6 hours on the observation, but the organization on this occasion so far is outstanding.

[Korshunov, quoting (Rubinstein)] This is the first time I have been in the Soviet Union, and I am now experiencing very strong emotions, both because of the journey itself and because of what I have just seen. After all, for a long time we considered you a closed society, and now I cannot believe my eyes. We are on large military bases, attending Soviet Army maneuvers. Nothing is concealed from us. We film any objects for our program. I am certain that what we show Danish television viewers in our 1-hour program will be sensational for them. This is Russia and the Soviet soldier close up. The very fact that you and I are talking here would seem to be an individual case, but it attests to the improvement of world political affairs. I am in favor of more confidence with all my heart. The Stockholm Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was the first step. I hope, and you probably do, too, that a new one will follow it. We must make our citizens graphically aware of each other's true face.

U.S. Observer Cited

LD2108143389 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Minsk August 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Leonid Tratsevsky:

The military exercises in Soviet Belorussia have reached their climax. The attacking "northern" troops are mounting their offensive, while the "southern" army is repelling the attack in accordance with the Soviet Army's defensive doctrine.

The exercises are being attended by observers from 23 countries, participants in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Asked about the role of strengthening military contacts in the general improvement of East-West relations, U.S. military observer Brigade General John G. Tilelli told TASS that the military were playing a great role in improving Soviet-U.S. relations, of which the presence of foreign military observers at the current exercises was convincing proof. Tilelli believes that an exchange with observers will continue promoting trust between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Unites States is supporting this process and exerting efforts to develop it by sending its observers to the Soviet Union and receiving Soviet military experts in the United States, he said.

Foreign Observers Cited

LD2208034489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2120 GMT 21 Aug 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Hello, comrades. Troop exercises of the Belorussian Military District are coming to an end on the territory of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. [video report narrated by A. Zhuk, identified by caption]

[Zhuk] The combat training actions this time bore a defensive character, reflecting the doctrine of the USSR Armed Forces. But this in no way means that on the training ground we did not see daring attacks and bold maneuvers, or that, for example, some unforeseen circumstances did not arise during the skirmish of the northerners and southerners. If the first side banked on maintaining an offensive thrust attained on the first day of the exercise, then the second, in its actions, showed that the combat ardor of the troops was not extinguished with the loss of a number of defensive positions. The falling back of units takes place in an organized and considered manner.

Foreign observers, who had taken up their places in the observation area, attentively followed this incontestably impressive picture. [video shows interview with U.S. Brigadier General John G. Tilelli, identified by caption] The brigadier general expressed his satisfaction that he had been provided with the opportunity to observe the troop exercise of the Belorussian Military District. He then noted the precise interaction of the motor-rifles, the tank drivers, and troops of other specialities. [video shows interview with Hans-Joachim Mel of the FRG]

The lieutenant described the very fact of the announcement of the exercises as a sign of the implementation of the Stockholm Conference document. After the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe, he hopes that the Vienna talks will likewise be crowned with success, and thus strengthen trust between states and peoples.

And so, the troop exercises are coming to an end. [Video shows helicopters, tanks and troops on training ground, aircraft flying past. Shot from observation area shows troops in long trenches and others advancing toward each other to engage in hand-to-hand combat, helicopters hovering over training ground, troops jumping out of a helicopter, a Soviet officer addressing a group of troops.]

UN Hears USSR Urge More Military Openness

LD2108205989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] New York, 21 Aug (TASS)—In the United Nations, the Soviet Union has called for the provision of greater openness in the military sphere as a major factor of strengthening general security, the significance of which is growing immeasurably under the conditions of the transition, which has begun, to effective disarmament. This call is contained in the answer of the Soviet Government on the question at the request of the UN general secretary, which was included among the answers of a number of other governments published today in the report of Perez de Cuellar on objective information on military questions.

The USSR considers that the removal of superfluous secrecy is called upon to raise the level of predictability in international matters, to reduce and ultimately bring to naught the likelihood of the incorrect interpretation of actions and intentions of states, thereby consolidating trust between them. By making it possible to reveal the real picture of the correlation of forces, glasnost with respect to military potentials creates the necessary prerequisites for the agreement of cardinal measures for limiting and reducing arms, for essentially expanding the possibilities for the implementation of the principle of sensible adequacy for defense.

Within the context of elaborating specific measures to strenghen trust and security could be examined, such as the regular (at least once a year) exchange of information on armed forces, the periodic discussion and comparison at various forums of the political and military technological aspects of military doctrines, the expansion and improvement of the practice of mutual visits by military delegations and individual military representatives, the use of the latest technical means of automatic verification [kontrol] in the interests of verifying the observance of the measures adopted, the creation of a center for reducing the military danger and the danger of a sudden attack on Europe, the organization of a special communications system that would serve to elucidate situations giving rise to doubts or fears of any of the sides.

Having noted the exceptional significance of the role of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament and the possibility of the introduction by it of a tangible contribution to providing greater openness in military questions, the USSR has come out in favor of the multilateral examination of these problems at the 44th General Assembly sesion and at the session of the UN Commission on Disarmament in in 1990.

Gremitskikh Hosts Foreign Ministry News Briefing

Delivers Statement on Afghanistan

PM2208112389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 89 p 5

[Text] Moscow, 21 Aug —At a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists held here today, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, read the following ministry statement:

President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan, spoke on national radio in connection with the 70th anniversary of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence. His speech once again reaffirms the adherence of the country's government to the policy of national reconciliation. It also contains specific proposals aimed at stopping the bloodshed and bringing about a peaceful settlement of Afghan internal disagreements. The president put forward a precise plan, taking all the features of the present situation into account, for setting up a new Afghan government reflecting the interests of all Afghan political forces. The plan envisages a dialogue between the government of the Republic of Afghanistan and all other Afghan groups, indeed all Afghans who have an interest in ending the bloodshed and establishing peace. Highly important elements of this machinery are: the holding of an all-Afghan peace conference; the formation of a fully empowered guiding council at the conference; and a 6-month cease-fire. The guiding council would prepare the traditional Afghan supreme organ, the Loya Jirgah, which is by custom drawn from the most respected persons for the solving of cardinal problems on which the country's destiny depends. It is intended to draft a new Afghan constitution and a law on parliamentary elections, and these will lead to the creation of a new parliament and new government.

The convening of an international conference on Afghanistan is a major and integral part of the plan. This idea, as is known, has already been advocated by the Afghan leadership. It has been given full backing in the Soviet Union and a number of other countries. This idea is now being given further, wholly tangible and specific form. A number of countries which might take part in it are being put forward, and its mandate is being specified—the guaranteeing of the permanent neutrality of Afghanistan, demilitarization of the country, and ensuring the political rights of all members of Afghan society. The linkage of domestic and external aspects of the Afghan problem is clearly visible in the plan proposed by President Najibullah, and this is very necessary at the present time. It is no accident that the government of Afghanistan advocates that the future general elections, which are the aim of the designated plan, should proceed under UN observation.

In the Soviet Union, the new proposals of the Afghan leadership have been received as a further development of the realistic program which opens up broad opportunities for establishing peace in the long-suffering Afghan land, and for the free will of all Afghans. In putting forward its new plan, the Afghan leadership has once again demonstrated that any claims to a monopoly of power are alien to it, and that in its domestic and foreign policy it proceeds entirely from the interests of its people. The government of the Republic of Afghanistan has confirmed that it has always proceeded and will continue to proceed from the fact that the military path is not the path which corresponds to the national interests of Afghanistan. The Afghan leadership rejects the military path. The idea of the need to establish inter-Afghan dialogue and thereby seek mutually-acceptable solutions, is meeting with increasing understanding and support, even among many opposition groupings and field commanders. Now it is only the most extremist part of the opposition, which has not yet abandoned the illusion of seizing power for themselves, that is continuing to ignore the objective realities of Afghanistan today.

Anyone who would like to continue to bank on armed struggle ought to know that in the long run such schemes will rebound. President Najibullah's proposals open up extensive new possibilities to find a way out of the long, drawn-out conflict, to take account of the whole complexity of the Afghan situation and the whole mosaic of interests of the various strata of Afghan society, and to allow an Afghan settlement to be switched to the channel of prectical actions. The Soviet Union hopes that the proposals made by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan will meet with the understanding and support of all Afghans and of the entire world community, and be transformed into practical deeds leading to peace in Afghanistan.

Discusses Angola, CSSR, Poland

LD2108142689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1311 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, 21 August (TASS)—[passage omitted]

Continuing the briefing, Yuriy Gremitskikh pointed out that the continuing provocations by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] groups against subunits of Angola's armed forces, Cuban troop subunits, and the peaceful population are aimed at undermining the agreements on a ceasefire in the country which were achieved in June this year at the meeting of a number of heads of African states in Gbadolite (Zaire).

"In the Soviet Union it is supposed," he stressed, "that what is involved is a very serious moment not only in Angola's political life, but also in that of the countries adjoining it. For this reason, all attempts to slow the process of normalization and distort the essence of the Gbadolite agreements are fraught with the further exacerbation of contradictions and a relapse into armed confrontation."

Answering questions about the Soviet assessment of the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia, the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that it is impossible to understand these events correctly outside of the political and international context of their time. He noted that from the Soviet Union's point of view, the analysis of the domestic aspects of these events is the CSSR's prerogative. The outside world's perception of the events and reaction to them at the time was largely a product of the level of confrontation between the two military-political blocs that existed then. Under contemporary conditions, continued Yuriy Gremitskikh, it follows from a number of top-level statements that the USSR unambiguously rejects the use or threat of force in the relations between states.

Commenting on the process of forming a Polish government, he recalled that the Soviet side has already noted more than once that the creation of a government of the Polish People's Republic is the domestic affair of the Poles themselves. At the same time, Yuriy Gremitskih pointed out, the Soviet Union's attitude toward this process is not an indifferent one: Poland is a neighbor and ally of the USSR. The peoples of the two countries fought together against Hitler's fascism, and are linked by old and close relations. The USSR and the Polish People's Republic conduct widescale cooperation in various spheres and interact energetically in international affairs.

Briefly dwelling on reports by Finland's press about the "proposals" by Tapio Holvitie, a deputy of that country's parliament from the National Coalition Party to "buy off part of Karelia's territory from the Soviet Union," Yuriy Gremitskih stressed that "the Soviet Union does not sell its territories." "The postwar borders must remain inviolate," he said.

Condemns UNITA 'Provocations' in Angola

LD2108195189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center in Moscow today. It was conducted by Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Foreign Ministry Information Directorate. Here is what he said in relation to events in Angola.

[Begin Gremitskikh recording] According to reports, the UNITA [National Union for Total Independence of Angola] grouping continues its policy of subverting the cease-fire accord attained last June at the meeting of heads of African countries in Gbadolite, Zaire. UNITA's provocations against detachments of the Angolan armed forces and civilians have hardly stopped. Recently a bandit attack against a Cuban military subunit was carried out. Several Cuban servicemen were killed. One gets the impression that UNITA leaders are stubbornly trying to use the talks process that has started only for strengthening their positions in the international community's eyes. The fact that representatives of this grouping have ignored another round of talks with an Angolan government delegation, planned for 17 August in Zaire, causes suspicion. To all appearances, UNITA leaders reckon that external forces' continuing support, primarily from the United States, will make it possible for them to continue trying the patience of those who are interested in Angola's irreversible transition to the path of peaceful settlement. The Soviet Union assumes that it is a very serious question in the political life of not only Angola alone, but also of adjacent countries. Therefore, all attempts to put a brake on the process of normalization and to distort the essence of the Gbadolite accords are fraught with further exacerbation of contradictions and a repeat of military confrontation. [end recording]

Komplektov Receives UN Food, Agriculture Head

PM2108102589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.G. Komplektov met with E. Saouma, director general of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, 17 August.

During the conversation much attention was paid to the coordination of approaches toward the solution of the global food problem.

United States & Canada

Bessmertnykh, Matlock Discuss Cambodia, Lebanon

LD2108162489 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh today received the U.S. ambassador to the USSR, Jack Matlock, at his request.

In the conversation, dealing mainly with international regional issues, the sides considered, specifically, prospects of the work of the Paris conference on Cambodia and the crisis in Lebanon.

B-2 Test Flight Aborted; Congress Voices Doubts

PM2108151789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "B-2 Flight Aborted"]

[Text] The second test flight of the new U.S. B-2 strategic bomber held Wednesday was aborted after instruments recorded falling oil pressure in one of the engines.

Built using Stealth technology which, according to the Pentagon, allows it to overcome enemy air defense systems without being seen, the bomber set off in the morning from Edwards Air Force Base, California, and flew for a little over an hour instead of the planned 3-4 hours. During the flight the crew, according to U.S. news agency reports, were to have carried out a number of operations, including raising and lowering the undercarriage.

The development [sozdaniye] program for the B-2—one of the most expensive programs in U.S. history—is being sharply criticized by Congress. The construction of 132 stealth bombers will cost $70 billion. During the recent debates on the draft military budget the legislators cut the Washington administration's planned appropriations for this program. As one of the conditions for further financing the construction of a fleet of bombers the congressmen demanded the the aircraft be painstakingly flight-tested. Despite the good publicity which the Northrop Corporation and the Defense Department are giving to their brainchild, many congressmen and specialists have serious doubts about the aircraft's tactical and technical potential.

U.S. Doctrine Means War Danger Persists

PM2108125189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel V. Linkevich under the rubric "From the Standpoint of New Thinking": "Has the Danger of War Disappeared?"]

[Text] No one now disputes, I think, that mankind is at a decisive, crucial stage in its history. The arsenals of nuclear weapons stockpiled in the world are capable of destroying everything that human reason has created and even life on earth itself. At the same time encouraging trends have appeared in many spheres of international life. The first real steps in the sphere of disarmament have been taken and the foundation has been laid for the political settlement of regional conflicts which have for decades been one of the main sources of international tension and have more than once brought the world to the brink of destruction. Greater trust and readiness to cooperate to solve acute global problems are being shown in relations between states.

But the paradox of the contemporary situation is that the process of its improvement has not yet become irreversible. Although the danger of war has receded, it is still there and its source remains the same. As was noted at the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest, the buildup and modernization of armaments is unceasing. Nuclear tests and work to militarize space continue. The concepts of confrontation and reliance on strength formed during the years of the cold war are being overcome only with difficulty. The strategy of nuclear deterrence, reaffirmed at the recent NATO Council session, remains a dangerous anachronism that runs counter to the interests of general security. The practice of interfering in other states' internal affairs, attempts to destabilize them, and violations of human rights are taking place. There is no letup in the propaganda campaigns concerning "Soviet military superiority," which pursue the goal of justifying the West's military programs in the eyes of the public and convincing it of the need for unilateral disarmament by the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states.

In both official public speeches and government program documents the military-political leadership of the United States and other leading NATO countries continues to uphold the thesis that the Soviet Union poses the main military threat to Western countries. Let us recall in this context the statement by George Bush, the present head of the Washington Administration: "One cardinal fact," he told Congress, "remains immutable—the Soviets maintain a very powerful military machine that serves objectives which still too often run counter to our own." The President's idea was picked up by U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney. He told the Senate Armed Services Committee, for example: "I do not think that we have reached a stage in our relations with the Soviet Union allowing us to cut back on resources. I consider that it would be an enormous mistake to reduce our military potential and limit our defensive potential."

This course is not just proclaimed. It finds expression above all in the implementation of ambitious programs for building the armed forces. Unflagging attention is paid to the development of strategic nuclear weapons. Thus in the last decade the proportion of military budget appropriations used for these ends has increased from 10.8 to 12.6 percent and has risen in absolute terms from

$15.8 billion to $38 billion, that is, 2.4 times over. Funds of the order of $743.3 billion in all have been appropriated for purchases of weapons and military hardware during this period.

A typical admission is contained in the speech W. Crowe made on leaving his post as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Shortly before retiring, he said the following: "Everyone should recognize that that we currently find ourselves in a situation dominated by an offensive posture. Even if we wanted to switch greater resources to a defensive posture, we could not stop capital investments in modernizing our ICBM's, strategic bombers, and ballistic missile submarines."

The U.S. military doctrine, which has a clearly pronounced offensive character, remains unchanged. This is incontrovertibly shown by the American military leadership's directives for the first use of nuclear missiles. "U.S. Ground Forces" FM-100-I, published in 1986, for example, says that the policy of deterrence does not rule out...the first use of nuclear weapons by U.S. troops to defend vitally important national interests. The offensive thrust of U.S. military doctrine is also corroborated by the maintenance and development of a ramified worldwide network of U.S. bases ensuring an extensive U.S. military presence in virtually all geographical regions, by measures to build up the combat potential of forward-based troop groupings, and by their deployment in regions where this presence is limited in nature.

The creation of rapid deployment and special operations forces within the Armed Forces and constant improvement of the forces and systems ensuring troops' strategic mobility are the chief measures here. More than 450,000 U.S. servicemen, or almost one-fourth of all regular Armed Forces personnel, are concentrated outside the United States—at approximately 1,500 military bases and facilities situated on the territory of more than 30 states. Moreover, more than 70,000 men are stationed on ships forming part of U.S. forward-based naval groupings, and around 100,000 are enlisted to take part in exercises abroad.

U.S. military plans allocate a special place to West Europe. Here, a powerful forward-based U.S. Armed Forces grouping comprising more than 300,000 servicemen is deployed even in peacetime. The Asia-Pacific Region is another key area of concentration of U.S. political, economic, and military-strategic interests. The second most powerful U.S. Armed Forces forward-based grouping, comprising 112,000 men, has been set up in the immediate vicinity of the USSR's Far East borders. Its activity is backed up by almost 300 military installations.

With the best will in the world, it is difficcult to regard the thrust of U.S. military preparations as defensive. For example, more than half the 600 military exercises held independently or jointly with allied countries each year take place in regions by the borders of the USSR and the other socialist states. And Autumn Forge, the largest NATO Allied Forces exercise, is the most significant of them. Each fall a NATO grouping of troops, hundreds of thousands strong and armed with modern weapons, including nuclear weapons, is created near Warsaw Pact countries' borders. A similar situation occurs on the USSR's Far Eastern borders when the Team Spirit exercises are held. Up to 200,000 U.S. and South Korean servicemen take part in them.

Thus an objective assessment of the practical activity of the United States and NATO in the military sphere leads to the unambiguous conclusion that the danger of war continues to exist. This cannot be discounted. The level of military confrontation will be lowered and the danger reduced during the process that is now gaining momentum of talks on cutting armed forces and armaments and achieving mutually-based accords. But we still do not yet have the right today to claim that the threat of war no longer exists and are forced to draw necessary conclusions.

Bush Autobiography Reminiscent of Old Attitudes

PM2108143389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Lieutenant Colonel V. Rodachin article: "A Look Into the Future and the Burden of the Past: U.S. President's Autobiography"]

[Text] Recently Soviet readers were given the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the autobiography of U.S. President George Bush (Footnote) (G. Bush. Looking Into the Future. Translated from the English. Afterword by G.I. Gerasimov. Moscow, Progress Publishing House, 1989, 336 pages). Its publication in Russian is a remarkable event. It demonstrates the depth of the transformations that are being carried out by the CPSU, the openness of Soviet society as it undergoes renewal, and its readiness to tear down the wall of mistrust between the USSR and the United States and gain a better understanding of each other. It must be noted that this publication is a step toward contact with the Soviet people on the part of the United States, too. This point is made in the foreword to the Russian-language edition by the President himself, who expresses his belief that "in time U.S.-Soviet relations can be strengthened and improved across a broad range of questions."

The very fact that the President's autobiography has rapidly sold out enables one to judge Soviet people's interest in literature of this kind and in the personality of G. Bush himself, whose path to the pinnacle of political power has been long. Perhaps the main milestones on this path were already familiar to many people. The dry career details are one thing: The fact that he was a flier and World War II veteran, a student at Yale, head of a Texas oil company, U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations, ambassador to China, a congressman, director of the CIA, vice president of the United States,

and finally President. But the inimitable account of his life, embellished with personal experiences and assessments, is something else entirely.

Unfortunately, when the author deals in one way or another with our country, one has the impression that he is trying to portray it in an unfavorable light. Of course, there have been dark passages in our country's past. But can the history of a great country which has chosen the path of socialist development be reduced merely to that? One-sidedness never went well with truth.

To be fair it should be noted that recently Bush has been seen to move away from that position. In recent speeches he has welcomed the process of positive changes in the USSR and wished perestroyka success. On the whole, however, the attitude toward our country and its policy remains guardedly cautious. That is to be regretted. Especially as it appears from the book that the U.S. President regards this as policy for the future.

In particular, the author continues to apply the principle of action from a position of strength. He is convinced that it was pressure from the United States which forced the Soviet Union to abandon the "aggressive course" and embark on the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and the reduction of armed forces and armaments. The U.S. President sees fidelity to the principle of strength as the guarantee of the success of U.S. foreign policy in the future, too: "This is a lesson repeating a pattern which dates back to the beginning of the postwar era. In holding talks with the Soviets we must act from a position of strength, not weakness."

Let us note that by no means everyone draws such conclusions even in the United States. In an article in TIME magazine, S. Talbott believes, for example, that such an approach is evidence of an oversimplified understanding of history. "Gorbachev is not so much making concessions to the United States," Talbott writes, "as correcting the blunders of the Stalinist administrative edict system. Furthermore, he is doing it in such a way as to gain the reputation throughout the world of being flexible and farsighted."

It should be added that when learning the lessons of history it is necessary to consider the new realities soberly. One cannot mechanically carry over into the present and the future that which may have been considered the norm in the past but which has ceased to be so. Changing conditions also alter the norms of political practice. It is possible to win only if everyone wins together. It is not strength but mutual understanding which is the means whereby we must build a better future, as it says in the joint statement signed during the Soviet leader's visit to the FRG.

Nor can one accept the postulate of U.S. policy which President Bush plans to use as the basis for progress toward the future. Namely, the commitment to nuclear weapons and the strategy of nuclear deterrence. The situation, given the possible dangers, as the author claims in his book, "is not hopeless so long as there is a realistic strategy of nuclear deterrence." He bases his optimism not only on possible progress in the reduction of strategic nuclear armaments but also on the efforts to create SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative]. Presumably President Bush also regards the modernization of strategic and tactical nuclear armaments as measures which guarantee the "realism" of the strategy of deterrence. Otherwise, it is hard to understand his decision on the deployment of mobile forms of the new Midgetman strategic nuclear systems, road-mobile—and MX missiles, rail-mobile. The reasons for the stubborn desire to maintain and improve at least a minimum tactical nuclear deterrent potential, primarily by replacing the current Lance missile with a new increased-range system, are not entirely clear either. Although the NATO Council in Brussels adopted the decision to postpone that replacement until 1992 it was nevertheless forced to acknowledge the "importance of continued U.S. financing of research and development" in this program so that "alternative solutions are retained on this question."

We see realism in a different light. Its essence is that while nuclear weapons exist mankind remains their hostage. At any moment hundreds of millions of people could be killed and civilization as a whole destroyed. The logic of nuclear deterrence allows not only the possibility but also the necessity of many millions of victims.

Like the U.S. President, we too are worried by the past and the future of our history together. Therefore, while expressing our gratitude to him for his interesting reminiscences on his former work, we are bound to express our doubts about his views. They are sometimes redolent of the past in world politics. Whereas the only path to the future is that of the new political thinking.

Joint Venture With U.S. on Defense Conversion

LD1808152889 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Excerpt] The Soviet Union is launching a large scale effort to convert a sizable part of its defense industry to production for civilian needs. In this work, it is prepared to cooperate with foreign, including American, companies. One somewhat unusual joint venture of this kind will now be described by our science correspondent, Boris Belitskiy:

[Belitskiy] This is the first-ever Soviet-American joint venture in converting military production to civilian needs. It provides for converting one of the Soviet industrial facilities that used to produce SS-20 intermediate-range missiles to manufacturing a launch vehicle for carrying commercial payloads into Earth orbit. The production of the SS-20 nuclear missiles has been stopped in the Soviet Union under the 1987 Intermediate Nuclear Forces, or INF Treaty, which similarly halted the production of American Pershing and Cruise missiles. Now a Soviet organization, Tekhnopribor, has concluded an

agreement with the Space Commerce Corporation of the United States to convert an SS-20 production facility to manufacturing a three-stage solid fuel launcher for carrying commercial payloads into space.

The new commercial launcher is to be called "Start," which is also the acronym for the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks between the two countries. It is to be developed under the supervision of Soviet and American Government agencies verifying compliance with the INF Treaty. The new launch vehicle will, of course, differ substantially from the SS-20, but it too will be mounted on a mobile launcher. This means it can be used without costly launching pads, a big commercial advantage. [passage omitted]

China

PRC Credit Squeeze Affects Private Sector

PM2208081789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 89 p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "Planet's Day": "Credits and the Private Sector"]

[Text] A considerable reduction in the number of small enterprises, which form the basis of the national economy's private sector, is being noted in China. By the beginning of the 2d half-year, the data of the PRC State Industry and Commerce Administration published in Beijing state, the total number of small private enterprises stood at 12.34 million—15 percent below the level at the end of last year.

There is a corresponding reduction in the volume of production and trade and in the number of working people employed, which has now fallen to 19.4 million. This trend, the state administration states, has emerged for the first time in the 10 years since the revival of the private sector in the Chinese economy. The reduction in the number of private enterprises is most noticeable in transportation, but also in industry and the services sphere.

This trend is a consequence of tougher terms for issuing bank credits, as a result of which small private production facilities have been forced to close because of a lack of necessary funds. Experts name as other factors the shortage of production premises and the scarcity and high cost of raw materials. Natural selection in the process of market competition is also a factor.

Northeast Asia

USSR, Japanese Officials Agree on Cambodia

UN, Pol Pot Roles Seen as Key Factors

OW2208035489 Tokyo KYODO in English 0127 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 21 KYODO—Japan and the Soviet Union agreed in talks on Kampuchea Monday that the role played by the United Nations and the treatment of the Pol Pot faction in the tripartite anti-Vietnam resistance will be major factors in resolving the conflict, Japanese sources said.

Minoru Endo, director general of Japan's Foreign Ministry UN Bureau, and his Soviet counterpart Semen Kozyrev, held the talks in preparation for the upcoming 44th Session of the UN General Assembly in New York.

In what is a regular annual meeting, the two sides discussed issues ranging from regional conflicts, disarmament, and military questions to the environment and economic problems, which were expected to be the major topics at the UN annual session to be convened on September 19 through December 22, the Japanese sources said.

The UN session will provide an opportunity for the first meeting between newly-appointed Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze.

UN Must Play 'Key Role' in Peace Plan

LD2208075789 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] In Moscow, Foreign Ministry officials have conferred with representatives of Japan to discuss the ways to settle regional conflicts, promote disarmament and develop bilateral cooperation. The two sides came to the unanimous conclusion that the United Nations should play the key role in the efforts to resolve the Cambodian problem.

Increased Trade, Political Ties With Japan

OW2208100789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Olgin commentary]

[Text] Soviet-Japanese relations will be reactivated this summer after a brief interruption. Today we would like to talk about the upcoming events regarding Japanese-Soviet relations.

A Japanese trade and economic delegation, made up of 170 members, will visit Moscow next week. This delegation will be the largest in the past few years. They will attend a Soviet-Japanese joint conference on economic cooperation, which will start on 23 August. It is reported that trade between the Soviet Union and Japan is progressing smoothly. The total trade volume between the Soviet Union and Japan increased last year by 20 percent from that of 1987. Among the developed capitalist nations, Japan has become one of the largest trade partners of the Soviet Union. It is likely that new forms of cooperative relations, such as the establishment of joint ventures, will be further promoted.

In an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE, Ryoichi Kawai, leader of the Japanese trade and economic delegation, said that Japan's economic relations with the Soviet Union are lagging behind those with the United States and West European nations. This is quite understandable, because neither the Soviet Union nor

Japan are taking advantage of their natural and geographical locations. Mr Kawai said that business relations between Japan the Soviet Union had to be promoted regardless of the political problems between the two countries. We hope some progress will be made in this regard at the coming Soviet-Japanese conference on economic cooporation.

Of course, future development of the business relations between Japan and the Soviet Union depends on the political situation in any event. In this connection, there will be a chance in the near future for the promotion of dialogue between the Soviet Union and Japan. Foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and Japan will visit New York to attend the UN General Assembly session in September. At that time, Soviet-Japanese foreign ministerial talks will be held in New York. At the talks, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and new Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama will meet for the first time. We hope the foreign ministers will hold true talks in the interests of both nations, without turning them into mere courtesy meetings. Prior to the foreign ministerial talks, deputy foreign ministers of the two countries will hold preliminary talks in Moscow in early September.

Regarding this year's schedule for dialogues between the Soviet Union and Japan, at least two more important visits are scheduled. First, a delegation from the Supreme Soviet will make an official visit to Japan at the invitation of the Japanese Diet. The new Soviet Parliament was formed recently and has shown its stance, through its first general assembly, to seriously deal with various problems with rhythmic approaches. Thus, it is observed that the planned visit to Japan by the members of the Soviet Parliament will be another important step toward deepening mutual understanding.

Moreover, an agreement has been reached that a delegation from the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party will visit the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. If realized, the visit will be an interesting and memorable event because it will be the first official contact between the two leading parties of both countries. This visit will deepen the relations between the Japanese Diet and the Soviet Parliament, and promote dialogue between the two countries. These are the major events in Soviet-Japanese relations slated for this year.

Will they have a positive effect on Soviet-Japanese relations? The answer is yes, judging from remarks made by Prime Minister Kaifu and Foreign Minister Nakayama. It seems that the current Japanese Government plans to continue to make further efforts for positive bilateral relations. Although there still remain some differences in understanding between the two nations, the Japanese Government is trying to expand cooperation on the basis of mutual interests. We welcome this approach.

Solarz Support of U.S. ROK Presence Criticized

SK2208070589 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Commentary by station commentator (Oleg Alekseyev)]

[Text] Several days ago, Stephen Solarz, chairman of the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, said that the United States should not consider the question of withdrawing or reducing U.S. troops from South Korea, unless Seoul beefs up its armed forces to a considerable level.

Our station commentator (Oleg Alekseyev) comments on this as follows: As was made clear in his statement, in principle, Stephen Solarz did not rule out the possibility of putting an end to the U.S. military presence in South Korea.

However, the U.S. congressman linked the settlement of the issue with the question of maintaining the level of military confrontation in Korea. This causes us regret.

I think such an attitude is nonproductive and clearly works against the task of basically easing tension on the Korean peninsula and in the Far East as a whole.

Why on earth should Seoul further beef up its armed forces?

U.S. Congressman Solarz spoke as if that was needed to counter the threat of southward invasion from the North.

However, presently, such threat does not exist.

All people are well aware of the DPRK Government's peace proposal designed to fundamentally reduce military confrontation on the Korean peninsula. Pyongyang appealed for a phased withdrawal of the U.S. troops from South Korea by the end of 1991, and proposed to reduce the armed forces of the North and South each to 100,000.

As has been made known, the U.S. forces in South Korea possess about 1,000 nuclear weapons.

The DPRK has already reduced its armed forces by 100,000. This was a unilateral step.

In addition, the Pyongyang proposal for establishing a nuclear-free zone on the Korean peninsula as well has earned broad and affirmative reactions.

Even many U.S. military men admit that the presence of more than 40,000 U.S. troops in South Korea, particularly their possession of formidable nuclear weapons, is entirely meaningless. This is noteworthy.

Some time ago, THE NEW YORK TIMES cited the statement of General Menetrey, commander of the U.S. forces in South Korea. Gen Menetrey said: By the 2d half

of 1990 [as heard], there would be no need whatsoever to maintain our military (?intervention) in the southern half of Korea, if the present trend of military relaxation continues.

This statement, however, created very negative reactions in Seoul.

Seoul hurriedly said that the statement absolutely disagrees with the position of the South Korean leaders. The South Korean leadership still demands that the U.S. Armed Forces continue to stay in South Korea. It cannot be said that such a stand on the part of the South Korean authorities is constructive.

However, we can say that the day will come when Seoul will change its stand under the pressure of the situation.

Stephen Solarz, chairman of the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, who made remarks on the question of the U.S. military presence in South Korea, noted that the U.S. military presence is arousing an increasingly broad and strong protest among the South Korean residents.

I think that Washington will have to consider this situation sooner or later.

DPRK Urges Withdrawal of U.S. Arms From South

PM2208075789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

["Our correspondent" report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] A news conference was held 18 August at the DPRK Embassy in Moscow on an appeal by the Korean Committee for the Struggle Against Nuclear Weapons and for Peace to the peoples, governments, parliaments, political parties, and social organizations of the world and international organizations. Addressing the news conference, Kwan Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the Soviet Union, drew journalists' attention to the appeal by the DPRK public to demand that the United States withdraw its nuclear weapons and troops from the territory of South Korea, to guarantee that the Korean peninsula be turned into a nuclear-free zone, and also to give the utmost possible support to the Korean people's efforts to achieve the peaceful unification of North and South.

There are currently more than 45,000 U.S. servicemen and more than 1,000 units of various types of nuclear weapons in South Korea. What is more, as the appeal stresses, the range of some of the delivery vehicles extends beyond Korean territory.

In these conditions, the ambassador said, statements by U.S. authorities that they intend to keep South Korea "under the nuclear umbrella" and continue to stage the joint U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit" military maneuvers are clearly at variance with the trends toward disarmament and detente now prevailing in international relations.

If the U.S. talk of its desire for disarmament and detente is not a lie and if the United States is really interested in peace on the Korean peninsula, the appeal says, it must heed the voice of the Korean people and of the peace-loving public in all countries and take real steps to remove its nuclear weapons from the territory of the peninsula and thereby prove its commitment in practice.

Sokolov Heads Military Delegation in Mongolia

PM2208093189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "First Visitors"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 15 Aug—The USSR Defense Ministry delegation headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov which is on a visit here at the invitation of the Mongolian Government was received today by Colonel General J. Yondon, Mongolian defense minister.

The delegation members and a group of participants in the fighting at Halhin Gol were the first visitors to the exhibition "Halhin Gol-50." It is on display in Ulaanbaatar's central exhibition hall.

Mongolian Military Delegation Begins USSR Visit

PM2208075989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation Arrives"]

[Text] A Mongolian military delegation led by Major General D. Gendenpel, Mongolian first deputy defense minister, arrived in Moscow from Ulaanbaatar 19 August. It will take part in celebrations to mark the 50th anniversary of the rout of Japanese imperialist forces in the region of the Halhin Gol River.

Members of the delegation from the fraternal army will meet with veterans of the fighting at Halhin Gol, will be the guests of Soviet servicemen, and will be received by the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

Yazov Greets Mongolian Minister on Anniversary

PM2208075189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Yazov greetings to Mongolian counterpart on 50th anniversary of defeat of Japanese at Halhin Gol]

[Text] To Comrade Colonel General Jamsrangiyn Yondon, Mongolian minister of defense:

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and on my own behalf I cordially congratulate you and all Mongolian People's Army personnel on the 50th anniversary of the rout of the Japanese imperialist troops at the Halhin Gol River.

Those heroic days in August 1939 have entered the history of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples and the history of their joint struggle against the imperialist aggressor for all eternity. The fraternal friendship of our armies was tempered and strengthened in the fire of bitter battles.

Marking this glorious anniversary, Soviet Armed Forces personnel express their firm resolve to continue to steadily develop and increase the traditions of our combat cooperation in the interests of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples.

I wish Mongolian People's Army personnel further success in strengthening socialist Mongolia's defense capability.

[Signed] Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense

Mongolia's Batmonh Notes Growing PRC Contacts

LD2208090689 Moscow TASS in English 0735 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar August 22 TASS—All-round development of friendship and cooperation with the Republic's southern neighbour, China, is one of the main aspects of Mongolia's foreign policy, Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, said during a ceremony of the presentation of credentials by Chinese Ambassador Zhang Delin.

Batmonh praised the efforts being made by the two sides in recent years to improve relationships, and voiced satisfaction with growing contacts in the political sphere, trade, science, culture and technology. Relations between the MPRP and the Communist Party of China (CPC) are being normalised, he emphasised.

The Mongolian people attentively follow socialist transformations being effected by the great Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC and wish them new successes along the road, Batmonh said.

The development and deepening of relations between the two countries not only meet the interests of the Mongolian and Chinese peoples but also serve to strengthen positive processes in Asia and throughout the world, the Mongolian leader pointed out.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Hun Sen Position 'More Rational' Than Sihanouk's

PM2208083389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[B. Vinogradov report: "Commissions Still Sitting"]

[Excerpt] Phnom Penh—[passage omitted] The closer 28 August gets, the more frequently observers pose the question: How will the Paris conference end: Will it make a radical contribution to settling the Cambodian problem? Behind this main question other more specific aspects of the conflict are continually being examined and the sides' positions and interests are being clarified and adjusted. Most agree that today the international part of the problem is easier to solve than the internal one. It is a question of a compromise among the four Cambodian sides.

Analyzing Sihanouk's demands, journalists who know the situation, not by hearsay but from the inside, find quite serious flaws in them that may lead the settlement into a total impasse.

Of course, Cambodia needs peace. But it will come all the more quickly if the conflicting sides occupy a more sober position and if they are guided in their actions less by ambitions than by present-day realities. As for the million Vietnamese settlers whose return home Sihanouk has categorically demanded, here too a lot remains unclear. It should be borne in mind that the Vietnamese, like the Chinese and the Chams, have always been a national minority in Cambodia. During the Pol Pot era many of them escaped to Vietnam and then returned to the country later. How can those who settled there after 1978 and those who came earlier be distinguished? It is proposed to do this on the basis of a universal census. But such a prospect is possible only in the indefinite future.

The position of Hun Sen seems more rational and promising in correspondents' analyses. At the beginning someone got the idea that he was "categorically against ceding any political and military power to the Pol Pot group." When it comes to Pol Pot himself and his closest associates, then this is really so. But if it is a question of the "Khmer Rouge" as an existing force, and it is a question of this, then this is a somewhat different matter. Hun Sen does not reject "Khmer Rouge" participation in the interim organs of power which are to be set up in Cambodia after the Vietnamese troop withdrawal and a cease-fire. The task of this four-sided organ is to prepare for and hold general elections. It will be possible to embark on the formation of a coalition government only after the election results in accordance with the people's will.

Philippines' Manglapus Meets RSFSR Delegation

LD2108194189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Manila, 21 August (TASS)—R. Mangalapus, secretary of foreign affairs of the Philippines, today received a delegation of Soviet parliamentarians headed by F.A. Tabeyev, people's deputy of the USSR and first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, which is in the Filipino capital to participate as observers in the 10th conference of the ASEAN interparliamentary organization.

A wide range of issues was discussed during the meeting concerning the international situation and bilateral relations. The secretary for foreign affairs stated that his recent visit to the USSR and his talks with M.S. Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders made an indelible impression upon him.

R. Mangalapus welcomed the participation of the Soviet parliamentarians in the conference, noting that this reflects the new thinking and fresh approach of the Soviet Union to foreign policy issues. He noted that the significance of the ASEAN conference extends beyond the bounds of the Southeast Asian region.

There was also a meeting today between the Soviet delegation and J. Concepcion, secretary of trade and industry. An exchange of opinions took place on issues concerning the expansion of mutually beneficial commercial and economic cooperation between the two countries.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Spokesman Discusses Military Situation

LD2108203789 Moscow TASS in English 2021 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul August 22 TASS—'Abdul Haq 'Ulumi, head of the Armed Forces Deparment at the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, held a news conference at the press centre of Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry on Monday.

Answering questions from reporters, 'Abdul Haq 'Ulumi said that the United States, grossly flouting the Geneva accords, continues to equip units of rebels with up-to-date arms. 'Ulumi said that several days ago, when shelling Kabul extremists used a new cluster missile with a range of up to 60 km, which poses special danger to civilian population. The missile explodes in the air, and several dozens of anti-personnel mines, including those camouflaged as toys, are scattered. Because of this, units of the Kabul garrison expand the safety belt around the Afghan capital. The assertions of those who say that new modifications of missiles are supplied by the U.S. to the Afghan opposition in retaliation for the use of tactical missiles by government forces are far from the truth. The new weapon is meant first of all for hitting densely populated urban quarters rather than for shelling the Afghan Army positions, 'Ulumi said.

The rebels have not abandoned the idea of seizing large cities of Afghanistan. This is shown by the fighting near Jalalabad, Qandahar and Khowst, 'Ulumi said. But on the whole, the situation in Afghanistan is gradually stabilizing. Two-thirds of field commanders stopped direct participation in combat operations, and those who are yet fighting against the government contemplate doing so. It is Pakistan and the United States instigating the aggression against an independent sovereign state that bear the main responsibility for the fact that bloodletting continues in long-suffering Afghan land, 'Ulumi said in conclusion.

Afghan Minister on Foreign-Orchestrated Offensive

PM1808131589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Aug 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Minister's Statement"]

[Text] "The United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia are making efforts to organize a major new offensive by the united opposition forces in the hope that they will win a military victory. However, whatever the enemy strategy, we are prepared for any turn of events," Colonel General Shahnawaz Tanay, Afghan defense minister, stated in an interview with Western journalists in Kabul.

ASSOCIATED PRESS reported that the minister pointed out that since the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan the Afghan Army had proved the groundlessness of the West's hopes that the insurgents would quickly meet with success. The Afghan Armed Forces have shown that they are capable of independently eliminating the opposition groups within the country. "I am convinced," S. Tanay went on to say, "that the Afghan problem can only be solved by political means, a military solution is impossible."

The defense minister accused Washington and Islamabad of escalating hostilities in Afghanistan by supplying the insurgents with "more modern, complex, and destructive weapons." At the same time, he noted, in most parts of the country, with the exception of Nangarhar, Khowst, and Qandahar, the insurgents are conducting combat operations less actively than before. This is the result of the conclusion by many opposition groupings of agreements with the government or the observance by them of the cease-fire conditions."

Najibullah's Peace Proposals Said 'Realistic'

LD2208091189 Moscow TASS in English 0853 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—By TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov:

Speaking on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of restoration of Afghanistan's independence, Afghan President Najibullah said that attempts to solve the Afghan problem militarily are futile.

He said that the overwhelming majority of Afghans want peace and calm in the country and that a number of West European countries advocate a political settlement of the problem.

The president set forth concrete proposals to end the war and bloodshed.

The proposals include a ceasefire, establishment of a governing council, which would include all political forces, and the formation of a coalition government by the council, the drafting of a new constitution and its approval by the Loya Jirgah (National Assembly), the holding of free and fair general elections in the country, under UN supervision, and convocation of an international conference on Afghanistan, which would guarantee the country's neutrality and demilitarisation and enable the Afghan people to independently choose how the country should development.

Najibullah's proposals are realistic, as they take full account of the realities of the situation inside the country and beyond, and honest, as they presuppose participation in the settlement efforts not only of all opposition forces but also of the United Nations.

Many rebel field commanders in Afghanistan and some opposition groups outside the country are aware of the need to stop the war and start an inter-Afghan dialogue.

More and more anti-government groups are withdrawing from hostilities. More than 60,000 rebels have already laid down their arms.

Afghans would have already come to a mutually acceptable compromise, perhaps, if it were not for the instigation and direct military aid to the opposition from the United States, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

Even now, when these countries continue their interference in Afghan affairs, which is increasingly acquiring the form of direct armed aggression, Afghan opposition forces are looking for, and finding, possibilities for dialogue with the government.

Part of the Afghan opposition, which does not trade national interests, is becoming more and more aware of the disastrous consequences that the activities of external forces and their proteges in the country can lead to.

There is nothing in the opposition camp that can unite it. The "transition government" formed with the help of Pakistani Secret Services cannot be taken seriously.

On the other hand, rebel leaders apparently do not think about Afghanistan's future, as they have no program to solve the social and economic problems of the country. Their only desire is to take power by any means and satisfy their ambitions and interests.

The internecine rivalry between rebel leaders is growing, sometimes sparking off fierce clashes ending in deaths.

The prospects for turning Afghanistan, like Lebanon, into a "seething pot" can only excite those who are staking on the continuation of the conflict. But these prospects promise nothing but more suffering to the Afghan people.

Afghan Envoy Hosts Independence Day Reception

PM2008142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] S.M. Gulabzoy, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR, gave a reception 18 August to mark the 70th anniversary of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence.

The reception was attended by N.V. Bosenko, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids; A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and a delegation from Afghanistan's Organization for Peace, Solidarity, and Friendship headed by its chairman, A.B. Ranjbar.

Gives National Day Speech

LD1908193189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Afghan people celebrate today their national day, the day independence was established, and armed forces day. Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy, People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Central Committee Politburo member and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR, is taking part in our program:

[Gulabzoy in vernacular, with superimposed Russian translation] Dear Soviet comrades and friends, today the Afghan people are festively celebrating the 70th anniversary of the country's liberation from the British colonizers, who tried to seize our ancient country three times and each time met with the desperate resistance of the Afghan people. After the victory in Russia of the Great October Socialist Revolution, considerable changes took place in the world. In our country, a national liberation movement became active. As a result of the third Anglo-Afghan war, in which the Afghans were successful, under the leadership of Gazi Amanullah Khan, the British colonizers were compelled on 8 August, 1919 to sign an

agreement on non-interference. During the period of the Afghan people's struggle to establish independence, the leaders of our countries—Emir Amanullah Khan and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin—exchanged friendly messages.

Today we are proud to be able to state that the last 70 years have been for our countries and peoples years of friendship, brotherhood, and mutual assistance. Afghanistan was the first country to officially recognize the new Soviet Government. And the Soviet Union was the first to officially recognize the independence of our motherland. With the economic and technical assistance of the USSR, hundreds of industrial national economic facilities and cultural centers have been built. In our time, cooperation with the Soviet Union has assumed new dimensions. Striving to put an end to the bloody and fratricidal war, the PDPA and the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan, led by President Najibullah, announced a humane course of national reconciliation, which corresponds to the interests and aspriations of the entire Afghan people. As a result of the well-considered approach of the leadership of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the Geneva accords were signed and Soviet internationalist servicemen returned home. However, Pakistan and the United States are not only not observing the requirements of the Geneva accords, but, on the contrary, they are expanding the scale of an undeclared war and supplying new types of modern weaponry to the extremists. This is leading to the deaths every day of dozens of innocent women, children, and old people.

The creation of a broad-based coalition government with the participation of all political forces, the convening of an international conference aimed at ensuring the disarmament and permament neutrality of Afghanistan, and the holding of free elections with the participation of the opposition—such are the realistic proposals, acceptable to all, of the Afghan Government, which has repeatedly called their implementation.

On 19 August the Afghan people proudly celebrate not only the anniversary of the establishment of the country's independence, but also the day of Afghanistan's heroic Armed Forces, which are courageously defending their country and are always ready to offer a decisive rebuff to the enemies of the motherland and the revolution. Long live independent Afghanistan! May Afghan-Soviet friendship strengthen through the ages!

Thank you for your attention.

Afghan Rebel Activities Hamper UN Aid Efforts

PM1808130589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent A. Boldiniuk report: "If Only the War Were Over. How Foreign Aid Is Distributed in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul—The office of the head of the Kabul section of the UN Development Programs Commission was on the second floor of the building and was flooded with bright sunshine. The first floor was in semidarkness: Heavy sandbags are stacked in front of the building. This provides at least some protection from missile shrapnel.

I had come to speak with the boss of the office Douglas Manson about the aid given to Afghanistan by the world community and about the "development programs" which his establishment must also implement. The telephone rang constantly—journalists were ringing the UN representative to find out how many people had been killed when a trolleybus suffered a direct hit from a rocket.

Yes, the bombardments continue. You would think that all the thoughts of Kabul's inhabitants must be directed toward finding the best hiding places—after all, the crash of explosions accompanies virtually every step the capital's inhabitants make. But they must also think about how to feed their families and where to obtain fuel for the winter and kerosene. In this country, ravaged by 10 years of war, these problems are very difficult to solve. It is impossible to get by without aid from abroad. Douglas Manson is one of those who coordinate its distribution.

"The city needs at least 1,000 tonnes of food a day. We receive around 500. But stocks also need to be laid in for the winter."

Aid to the Afghan capital comes principally from the Soviet Union. Around 2,500 tonnes of various goods come in every day. Convoys of trucks deliver them by road via Salang. But extremist formations lie in wait for the convoys on some parts of the road. The "diehards" want to starve the capital and to dam even this thin trickle which helps the poorest families to make ends meet. The food is distributed on the basis of ration cards, at a quarter or a fifth of market prices. After all, a worker's or government employee's wages are enough only for a few kilograms of the meat sold in private stores. The stores are full of canned food from all countries, but only the traders themselves can afford them. Most of Kabul's inhabitants live on flat bread and thin soup, as they did many years ago.

"If only the attacks on the trucks carrying freight would stop, the food situation in the city would take a turn for the better," D. Manson says.

If only.... How many times have I heard these words on Afghan soil! The hardworking people are perfectly capable of supplying themselves with everything they need. There used to be grain fields in the scorched suburbs of Jalalabad and green vegetable plots in the front line of Kabul's defenses. Even in areas least suited to agriculture the war-weary people try to produce a harvest to provide bread for themselves and their children. But wheat fields very often become battlefields. Until peace comes to Afghan soil many families are condemned to live in want....

The republic is devoting all its strength to repulsing the "diehards'" onslaught. But the people's power also tries to help those who live in the provinces. "Our main task is to ensure proper living conditions for the population in areas which have suffered particularly from the war," 'Abdulsamad Kayumi, chief of Afghanistan's main administration of local organs of power, explained. "In the first place people must be given food. The peasants need seeds and fertilizers."

But man does not live by bread alone.... Schools, hospitals, and irrigation systems are necessary. The first steps are being taken to restore normal life in the government-controlled provinces. Money, hardware, and equipment are being distributed. Aid is also being given to groups which until recently actively participated in actions against the government but have now come over to the government side. In a remote kishlak in the central province of Ghowr, I saw bags of flour supplied by air from Kabul. Such an expensive form of transport has to be used because trucks cannot get here—the extremists fire on the convoy, destroy vehicles, and steal the grain. The kishlak's inhabitants have renounced war against the people's power, and the people's power will help them.

And what about the provinces which are controlled by extremists?

The opposition has appointed its own governors in the areas it controls, but they are continually being ousted during struggles between opposing groups. The "diehards" simply cannot agree among themselves, and the power struggle is continuing there with renewed vigor. And what about aid for the peasants here! There can be no talk of making their lives easier.

"The people do not like this," 'Abdulsamad Kayumi went on. "The people got tired of war a long time ago. When there is peace and calm, life will be organized."

The telephone rang. Apologizing, 'Abdulsamad interrupted the conversation. Later, I found out that the caller was the governor of Nangarhar Province. He reported that a convoy of over 200 trucks had arrived in Jalalabad. Food had been delivered to the fighting city by road from Kabul.

Afghan 'Diehards' Continue Kabul Bombardment

PM2208081589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[APN correspondent A. Pravov dispatch for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Fifteen Lakhs for Murder. The 'Diehard' Opposition Continues the Barbaric Bombardment of Kabul"]

[Excerpts] Kabul—'Ashura days were held in Afghanistan, as throughout the Muslim world, to mark the death of Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. Services in keeping with these days were held in mosques. Spokesmen from the Afghan Foreign Ministry invited foreign journalists to one of them—in the Takiya-Khanai-Afshar [name as transliterated] Mosque, which is on the outskirts of Kabul. [passage omitted]

The "Intercontinental" Hotel, the smartest and most expensive hotel in the city, is virtually opposite the mosque. A few days before the holiday a rocket landed on it. I was told by one hotel employee that projectiles had landed alongside the hotel prior to this. [passage omitted]

"Yes, we know that the missiles with which the bandits are bombarding Kabul have become much more powerful of late," I was told by Colonel General Ghulam Faruq Ya'qubi, Afghan minister of state security. "They are new missiles which the United States has begun to deliver. They are not only more powerful but can also hit the target with greater accuracy and be launched from a greater distance...."

What distinguishes the mentality of the people engaged in terrorist activity against their own people?

"We do not consider these people to be Afghans," Col Gen Ya'qubi told me. "They are bandits and all that motivates them is money...."

I saw the correctness of this assessment the next day. State security staffers organized a meeting for me with one of the men responsible for the tragedy which occurred in mid-July on Nader Pushtun Street. A "Toyota" truck laden with explosives blew up there.

'Abdul Halil, a 25-year-old student from Kabul University, who had parked this "Toyota" by the sidewalk, was now sitting on a chair in the interrogation building looking at me with innocent eyes.

"Didn't you think that your mother, sister, and close friends could have been at the scene of the incident?" I asked 'Abdul Halil.

"No, no, what do you mean," he waved his hands. "I couldn't have contemplated that. The only thing that forced me to do it was the very great sum of money which I was promised for the explosion. You realize that I come from a poor family and had difficulty in graduating from school and going to university...."

"How much were you promised?"

"Fifteen lakhs...."

I was told later by Afghan acquaintances that this is really quite a sizable sum. One lakh is equivalent to 100,000 afghani. Consequently, the money the young man was promised amounted to 1.5 million afghani.

"I have little interest in politics," 'Abdul Halil repeated constantly. "I was only interested in the money...."

"Was there any political motive for this action?"

"I think that the people who promised to pay me wanted to show everyone their power and impunity. For an explosion in the center of the city near the presidential palace illustrates that the regime's opponents are powerful...."

"Do you think that these 'opponents of the regime,' as you described them, proved their might to the parents of the two children whose bodies were taken to the morgue from Nader Pushtun?"

"No, no, of course not. But I am not to blame, I only wanted to earn some money. Let the people who incited me to it answer for everything. I did not think that people would die. A few months ago a rocket landed on my aunt's house. Six people died, including a child."

"Are you a Muslim?"

"Yes, I am a sincere believer."

"Yet the Koran forbids the killing of people for money."

"I did not want to kill anyone. Let the people who persuaded me to do this answer for it...."

Is there any ideological foundation left for the actions of the "diehard" opposition? For they describe themselves as "fighters for faith" and "mujahidin" and hint that they are fighting against "Moscow's puppet regime."

"Nothing is left of all that," Col Gen Ya'qubi said resolutely. "The authorities fully observe all the laws and customs of Islam. They cannot be accused of the reverse. Our enemies previously called for a 'jihad' against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan. They have been gone for 6 months now. Against whom is the 'jihad' to be waged? Against the Afghans? The Kabul government has proposed the program of national reconciliation and proposed holding elections on a broad basis. Thus the 'ideological' justification for the continuation of the war and killing have passed. Only money remains. Money is the main reason for the bombardment of Kabul and the explosions on the streets of the city."

U.S.-PLO 4th Round of Talks in Tunis Reported

PM2108100589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by A. Portanskiy: "Tunis: Fourth Meeting"]

[Text] Algiers—Y. 'Abd-Rabbuh, member of the PLO Executive Committee, and U.S. envoy R. Pelletreau, who head the Palestinian and U.S. delegations respectively, met again on Monday in Tunis for the latest, fourth round of the direct talks begun in December last year.

Despite the obvious differences, the United States intends to continue dialogue with the PLO in order to promote peace talks, an official spokesman for the U.S. State Department said the same day. Indeed, from the nature of this statement it is clear that the fourth meeting, like the preceding ones, has failed to bring any great results.

The project put forward by Tel Aviv in May for holding elections on the occupied territories (the so-called "Shamir plan") was one of the central issues at the Tunis meeting. According to a statement made for the press by R. Pelletreau, these elections would be the basis for the next but by no means last stage of a settlement; and if they were well prepared, this could lay the foundation to political talks which could lead eventually to a mutually acceptable compromise.

Y. 'Abd-Rabbuh reaffirmed the PLO's negative attitude toward the "Shamir plan" which, he said, "is delaying the process of a political settlement." That means that the Palestinians reject the plan in its present form. But in principle the actual idea of elections on the occupied territories is not rejected, on condition that they are held under international control and are a component element of an overall settlement plan with the participation of the PLO, which must unfailingly lead to an international conference.

It seems to me that the U.S. side expressed special interest in the fourth meeting to take place, seeking to establish whether or not during its recent congress in Tunis the Palestinian Fatah Movement really approved Y. 'Arafat's peace program. That interest is entirely explicable if you consider that Fatah is the most powerful organization in the PLO.

As is well known, the U.S. State Department reacted negatively to the document adopted by the Fatah congress, seeing in it evidence of the Palestinians' adherence to "violent methods" to the detriment of dialogue. Indeed, the resolution confirms that the Palestinian organizations still does not renounce military methods of struggle against the occupiers and the continuation of the intifadah [uprising]. But the right to offer armed resistance to the invaders is confirmed by the norms of international law and it is essential to distinguish such actions from terrorist actions against the civilian population. In addition, it is surprising that Washington has made so much attention to just one aspect while completely ignoring the constructive positions of the Fatah document: the clearly expressed loyalty to the idea of dialogue and talks and to a mutually acceptable compromise solution.

The political resolution of Fatah's 3-8 August fifth congress states Fatah's adherence to the peace initiatives declared by Y. 'Arafat from the lofty UN rostrum in Geneva and approved by the Palestine national council. Touching in detail on the question of Palestinian-U.S. dialogue, the Fatah congress urged the U.S. Administration "to openly acknowledge the Palestinian people's right to self determination and the creation of an independent Palestinian state and to renounce the policy of

orientation toward Israel and adopt a neutral stance for the sake of advancing the peace process." It was in this key that the question was put to the Americans at the Tunis meeting. But differences on this key point between the participants in the talks were not resolved. The Palestinians hope, however, to achieve changes in the U.S. approach, H. al-Hasan, an eminent Palestinian figure, stated after the meeting. "He who preaches democracy and calls for elections on the occupied territories cannot reject the right to self determination, because that is the basis of democracy," he said.

Oil Tanker Leaves Baku for Iran 31 Jul

NC0208085489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] As has been already reported, the regular transportation of oil has begun between Baku and the Iranian ports of Anzali and Nowshahr in the Caspian Sea. The Iran [word indistinct] tanker left Baku with a load of 1,400 tons of various types of oil products for the port of Enzali today.

Azerbaijani and Iranian seamen are working on this trip.

Trade, Cooperation Talks Begin With Egypt

LD2108121889 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—The first session of the Trade Subcommission of the inter-governmental Soviet-Egyptian Commission for Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation began its work in the USSR Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations here today.

Vladimir Mordinov, Soviet deputy minister for foreign economic relations, pointed out in an opening speech that trade and economic relations between the two countries followed an upward trend and that the Soviet side was interested in the delivery of engineering products as well as transportation means to the Egyptian market.

Muhsin Shihab, president of the Foreign Trade Corporation of Egypt, told those present about the establishment of a USSR-A.R.E. [Arab Republic of Egypt] Bilateral Trade Committee to coordinate trade between the two countries.

He expressed gratitude to the Soviet Union for the supply of timber. He assured the Soviet Side that the A.R.E. would fulfil its obligations for the delivery of cotton to the Soviet market. As is provided for by the agreement, 10,000 tons of cotton will be sold, he said.

There are three items on the session's agenda: this year's trade between the two countries, the discusssion of reciprocal goods exchanges in 1990, and the coordination of prices of Soviet and Egyptian commodities.

Agreement With Jordan To Allow Trade Increase

LD2108124889 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Zinchuk:

Goods turnover between the Soviet Union and Jordan is to grow five-fold in the coming years as compared with the present level and will run at up to 50 million roubles.

An agreement to this effect was reached recently during the first session of the inter-governmental commission for trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation. The trade increase will be resultant of a wider scope of barter operations and the development of other forms of economic cooperation.

With a view to stimulating commercial relations, Jordanian and Soviet business circles are now working out specific measures to this effect, according to the USSR Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations.

The Jordanian side has given the Soviet side a list of priority commodities which it would like to receive from the Soviet Union. The list includes in particular lumber, metallurgical products, fertilizers, machinery and equipment.

Soviet representatives, while discussing such form of bilateral business contacts as barter trade, pointed out the Soviet Union's interest in receiving textiles, disposable syringes and other medico-pharmaceutical products and detergents from Jordanian state-run organisations and private firms.

The two sides are also discussing prospects for the development of joint enterprises. Specifically, they consider projects to draw Soviet organisations into the production of phosphates and lumber in Jordan and possibilities for Jordanian firms' participation in the production of goods in the Soviet Union.

As far as joint implementation of economic projects is concerned, new fields have been mapped out in this respect. Soviet organisations will be possibly invited to establish a united power grid of Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Iraq, and Turkey, and specifically to build Jordan-Egypt power transmission lines.

Of course, the sides' resources for mutual financial settlements with the framework of business cooperation will also be taken into account during the expansion of business contacts.

Good prospects are being opened up by a plan which is being considered by the sides to repay debts through both reciprocal deliveries and through economic services to each other such as, for example, participation in the realisation of economic projects in Jordan and the Soviet Union.

On the whole, the opinion of Soviet business circles is that prospects for the expansion and deepening of Soviet-Jordanian economic contacts are quite realistic, the more so as the goodwill of the sides is manifest.

'Demands' of Sudanese SPLA Rebels Viewed

EA1908174089 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Maksim Yevgeniyev commentary]

[Text] Maksim Yevgeniyev comments on the Sudan: Following steps taken by the new Sudanese Government to end the war in the south, John Garang's recent statement appears to deal a death blow to that initiative. Colonel Garang has called on the government of General Al-Bashir to resign, accusing it of trying to create an Islamic state and supporting secession.

What does the movement want? They want the formation of a new government made up of the military, trade unions, and political organizations. Such a government would need to make constitutional amendments and prepare for elections. According to Garang, the civil war in the country would only come to an end if these conditions met. The movement's demand appears to be genuine. But the southern Sudanese issue has been dragging on for more than 30 years now. A weak economy, social and political injustice, backwardness and the imposition of shari'a law has made this region the most unstable in the Horn of Africa.

Could the regime which has been in power for just 7 weeks now be expected to find a just solution to this problem? Khartoum's declaration of a cease-fire and amnesty for the Sudanese People's Liberation Army [SPLA] were promising and positive steps, says Maksim Yevgenyev. Other promising steps were the continuation of peace talks with the opposition in Addis Ababa. These talks were begun some time ago by the former regime headed by Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi. However, those talks yield no positive results because demands made by both sides were impracticable and, therefore, unacceptable to the other party.

It is unfortunate that Al-Bashir's initiatives appear to have suffered a similar fate. The SPLA, headed by John Garang, has been waging a war since 1983 to win back the rights of the southerners. From the Sudanese point of view, this movement cannot be ignored.

Equally the new military junta in Sudan is a reality which cannot be ignored either. Therefore, the resignation of the Khartoum regime, as demanded by Garang, is not a positive way forward towards the realization of peace and stability, says Maksim Yevgenyev. Perhaps, it would be more practical to agree on peace with Khartoum instead of imposing unacceptable demands on the military junta, since this could complicate the confrontation already existing in southern Sudan.

At any rate, the realization of peace in southern Sudan should not be complicated by unnecessary conditions demanded by the SPLA of the central government. A wider approach should be taken in order to unravel this complicated issue jointly. Good faith and joint efforts are expected of both parties.

South Yemeni Peace Delegation Visits 7-14 Aug

PM2208095989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] A delegation of the Council for Peace, Friendship, and Solidarity of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] headed by 'Abdallah al-Khamiri, member of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PDRY Council for Peace, Friendship, and Solidarity, paid an official visit to the USSR 7 through 14 August at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries.

Representatives of the Soviet and South Yemeni public exchanged opinions on the prospects for the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and the role of mass democratic organizations in the struggle for world peace and security and for a healthier situation in the Indian Ocean and Red Sea region.

The PDRY Council for Peace, Friendship, and Solidarity delegation had a meeting at the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Sub-Saharan Africa

UN Security Council Discusses Namibia

LD2108210889 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] New York August 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

The United Nations Security Council continues the discussion of the Namibian situation started on August 16. The international community is now faced with a most important task of completing the process of Namibia's decolonisation, of settling the problem facing the United Nations Organisation from the first years of its activity, Valentin Lozinskiy, USSR representative, told the meeting on Monday.

He expressed concern over the fact that the South African police in Namibia includes persons who had earlier been members of Koevoet, the notorious units for anti-guerrilla operations. The fact that police forces have heavy weapons and armoured equipment contradicts the requirements of the settlement plan. All this creates the situation in which the local population is being intimidated and SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] supporters persecuted, which cannot but most negatively affect the course of preparations for free and equitable elections.

Declaring consistently for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and racism, for the right of peoples to independence and sovereignty, to unconditional freedom of choice, the Soviet Union firmly intends to exert efforts to ensure that independent Namibia becomes the 160th United Nations member, the Soviet representative said. Positive changes in the south west of Africa, reflecting the changes for the better in the overall international situation, will undoubtedly promote the consolidation of international peace and security and enhancement of the United Nations role and prestige in international affairs.

U.S. representative Herbert Okun said that his government shares profound concern of the United Nations secretary general over obstacles arising during the preparation for free and fair elections in Namibia. But he described as unjustifiable the concern expressed at the Security Council meeting that a large number of South African citizens have been registered as voters. The United States Administration is of the opinion that the improvement of the situation in Namibia is promoted by the decision of its administrator-general about the concentration of former members of Keovoet units at bases for retraining, and on the disbandment of their command structures.

Addressing the meeting, representatives of the Congo, Pakistan, Nepal, Senegal, China, France, Britain and other countries urged all the parties having something to do with the normalisation of the situation in south west Africa, above all, the South African authorities to show responsible and balanced approach to the implementation of the arrangements achieved and to the fulfilment of the obligations assumed in order to implement the United Nations plan for the granting of independence to Namibia.

Angolan Ruling Party Plenum Opens in Luanda

LD2108210789 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Luanda August 22 TASS—The situation in Angola in the light of the process of peace settlement started by the country's government is in the focus of attention of an extraordinary meeting of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Workers' Party Central Committee that opened in Luanda on Monday. The Angolan news agency ANGOP reports the meeting is to work out a number of measures aimed at a broader involvement of Angolan citizens in the republic's political and socio-economic life. The population's activity will be promoting the process of the consolidation of Angola's independence and territorial unity, it was stressed at the meeting.

The meeting of the MPLA-Workers' Party Central Committee is held in connection with the fact that Angola President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will fly to the Zimbabwean capital, Harare, where the session of the Special Committee of the Organization of African Unity for the South of Africa is underway. Besides discussing the situation in South Africa and in Namibia, the session is to analyse the progress of the implementation of the arrangements on peace settlement in Angola reached by a summit meeting of a number of African countries in Gbadolite, Zaire, late in June. ANGOP notes the Angolan leader will give the necessary explanations about their contents and will inform the session of ceasefire violations by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] anti-government group.

East Europe

'Gorbachev Doctrine' for East Europe Reported

AU2108140789 Hamburg DIE WELT AM SONNTAG in German 20 Aug 89 p 2

[Report by Herbert Kremp: "A Gorbachev Doctrine for Eastern Europe"]

[Text] Brussels—The Soviet Union has stipulated several conditions limiting the process of reforms in Eastern Europe. This became known in diplomatic circles in Brussels over the weekend [19-20 August]. "Gorbachev is now preparing his own doctrine," was one of the first comments.

The communist parties and state leaderships are called upon to assume a number of obligations, a Western diplomat stated. This concerns, above all, the adherence to the "socialist principles" in society and state, and, second, issues concerning internal and external security, which must in no case be abandoned or infringed.

According to information received through East European embassies and from visitors, Gorbachev accords particular importance to the following elements of the "strategic framework":

—No socialist country must withdraw from the Warsaw Pact, question it, or make unilateral cuts in the military sphere. The Warsaw Pact and the existing bilateral agreements must "remain intact" for reasons of security and with a view to the current disarmament negotiations (particularly on conventional armed forces in Vienna).

—In no Warsaw Pact country must the communist parties give up their role as the ultimately decisive force. Where coalition governments or noncommunist governments are formed, the "strategic ministries," such as the defense and interior ministry, must remain in communist hands. To ensure this, additional constitutional conditions must be created where this is necessary.

—It must be ensured that opposition parties, if any are admitted, assume their "socialist responsibility" in an efficient manner. Every government must safeguard the country's "basic socialist character" and is "completely responsible for the observance of the existing agreements."

As Western diplomats point out, there is no mention in the information received of a threat of violent sanctions—which would amount to a renewed limitation of the sovereignty of the Warsaw Pact states and which would correspond to the Brezhnev doctrine.

Rather, it is an "urgent appeal on the states to assume their obligations."

The following reasons have been cited for the Soviet move:

1. Concern is increasing among the Soviet leadership that the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence "might fray at the edges." The phenomena of "decreasing cohesion," centrifugal nationalism, and "separatism" are emerging everywhere from the Baltic states and the countries in Eastern central Europe to the Soviet Union's southern and Asian republics.

2. During the past few weeks, the Soviet leadership has repeatedly warned against a decline of the communist authority in these countries and republics through diplomatic channels and in the media. Particularly clear appeals were addressed to Hungary and Poland—publicly in the form of a general statement, discreetly in a more pronounced form, and at a high level.

This "formalization" and the "issuance of rules," as Western diplomats describe Soviet efforts, have not come as a surprise. The formation of an essentially noncommunist government in Poland, the precarious situation in the GDR, the upcoming 21st anniversary of the Soviet invasion in the CSSR, and its condemnation by the Polish Sejm made the announcement of limits to the reforms appear "topical and urgent."

3. The Soviet political leadership and the general staff were particularly worried about security prospects. As a result of the increasingly close contacts between Austria and Hungary, the great attractiveness of the EC, and the entire Western influence, a "funnel" is opening up in eastern Hungary whose impact extends to the borders of the Soviet Union.

The Western influence on the sensitive front in central Europe along the border between the GDR and Poland, from the Elbe River to the Soviet border, is a similar "funnel."

Phenomena suggesting a decline of the Soviet power in this sphere could have far-reaching strategic consequences, for which the Soviet leadership would ultimately be responsible.

In addition, Moscow has to ensure "internal security and stability" in neighboring western Russia, particularly in the Ukraine.

Western diplomats view Moscow's "rules" as an indirect (and maybe more than that) strengthening of the GDR leadership in its difficult situation. Gorbachev is believed to have recognized that the political and economic substance of the East German state is threatened by the current wave of emigration and the "internal and external delegitimization" that results therefrom.

According to Western diplomats, in view of the changes in the neighboring national states which are difficult to control, a "decisive loss of power on the part of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany" cannot be permitted in the Soviet interest.

More than ever before, the GDR is assuming an indispensable blocking function for the Soviet Union under the existing conditions.

"Gorbachev's fate and the fate of the Soviet reforms will ultimately be decided in Germany," a Western diplomat stresses.

Mazowiecki Works To Form Polish Government

LD2108200889 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valentin Volkov:

A report of the Main Statistical Board for July 1989 released on Monday contains unconsoling data about the state of the Polish economy. It follows from the report that the unfavourable phenomena observed in the first six months aggravated still more. There was a recession of production in the public sector of the industry, imbalance on the market increased considerably, the export dropped, the purchases of large cattle and hogs were much smaller than earlier, which affects the population's supply so far. In order to grasp the seriousness of the situation there is no need to consult statistic reports. Suffice it to go out into streets of Warsaw. Empty shelves in meat shops, long lines for milk and bread, nervousness and dissatisfaction of the population....

Tension is manifested also in actions of the working people in support of the demands for wage increases in view of five six-fold price rises on staple food products. Lock-ins continue at a number of mines and metallurgical enterprises. There is a threat of new intermissions in the work of transport enterprises.

In view of all this the mission of representative of Solidarity Tadeusz Mazowiecki whom the president of the Polish People's Republic instructed to form a cabinet, is far from easy. "In the first minutes after this appointment I felt weighed down by a load of 100 kilograms of stones," Mazowiecki said in an interview to "GAZETA WYBORCZA." "But then I rallied somewhat and started looking forward with a measure of optimism otherwise I would not have assumed this mission. I shall certainly not achieve everything, for this is impossible to achieve. But I shall do what I can, what

must be done." Mazowiecki is of the opinion that in order to remedy the situation a broad formula of government opened to all forces represented in Parliament is needed.

For this purpose Mazowiecki continues intensive consultations to form the cabinet sooner. In Gdansk, he took part on Sunday in a joint meeting of the presidiums of the Civic parliamentary Club uniting deputies of the Sejm and senators elected on the solidarity list and of the All-Polish Executive Commission of Solidarity. He held conversations with Lech Walesa and Bishop of Gdansk T. Gozlowski. On Monday, Mazowiecki met with A. Bentkowski, chairman of the Club of Deputies of the United Peasants' Party, one of the partners in the new coalition, and with figures from the Warsaw Club of Catholic intelligentsia.

The candidate to the post of chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers told the press that he hopes to be officially appointed to the post at the Sejm meeting on August 23 and, taking into account the complexity of the moment, to offer to the Sejm his programme and the composition of the new Polish cabinet before the end of August.

Polish Communists' Stand on New Government Noted
LD2108210689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] At the beginning of this bulletin we briefly acquainted you, comrades, with the contents of the document adopted at the 14th plenum of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee. And now the details from our correspondent in Warsaw, Vladimir Mikhaylenko:

[Mikhaylenko] Following the voluntary resignation of Czeslaw Kiszczak, who, for all his efforts, failed to form the cabinet of ministers he needed, President Jaruzelski, after a series of meetings and consultations with the leaders of political and social forces in the country, offered the post to 62-year old lawyer Tadeusz Mazowiecki, one of the leading politicians of the constructive opposition. This proposal, as is known, was accepted, and now it is up to the Sejm deputies. They are the final arbiters. Meanwhile, Mazowiecki has stated that he will try to form the new government by the end of August.

The PZPR Central Committee set out its stand on the problems of forming the new government and the current political situation in the country in a decision published today in the paper TRYBUNA LUDU. It says that only a government with the participation of all political forces represented in the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic can get Poland out of the crisis, and that a government of grand coalition cannot be replaced by opoprtunistic alliances. The PZPR Central Committee considers that the leadership of the United Peasants Party and the Democratic Party deputies' clubs, having agreed to a coalition without the PZPR, have destroyed the exisiting disposition of political forces in the Sejm. The road of confrontation with the PZPR cannot serve the interests of the country, it is stressed in the decision.

It goes on to say that none of the main political forces in the country, neither the PZPR, nor Solidarity, can wrench the country out of the abyss without each other. The PZPR Central Committee sees the way out in partnership and interaction of these two forces, which, in its view, can provide new and high-quality results. The representation of the PZPR in the new government should correspond to its political and social potential, the decision says.

The same decision notes, among other things, that a condition for support by the PZPR for the new government should be a preliminary agreement on its platform and political structure before the premier is approved by the Sejm. The PZPR Central Committee confirms its readiness to search for new solutions, and for the necessary personnel and program accords. The decision stresses that Poland should remain a reliable link in the CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, and it is noted in particular that participation in the Warsaw Pact has already been the guarantee of security for the Polish people for several decades.

The PZPR Central Committee requested the president of the republic to take all these circumstances into account in creating the new government.

Prague Protest Marking 1968 Invasion 'Stopped'
LD2208093289 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak News Agency reports that on Monday an attempt to upset public order was made in the center of Prague, in Vaclav Square. The demonstration involved an estimated 1,500 people. It was timed for the anniversary of the 1968 events when, because of a critical situation, troops belonging to the Warsaw Treaty organization had been introduced in Czechoslovakia. Those who gathered in the square failed to gain support from the residents of Prague, the news agency says. The security forces stopped their provocative actions.

CSSR's Urbanek Warns of Anti-Soviet Attacks
LD2008162289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] Urbanek, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], has been speaking at a rally for peace and Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship in the town of Plostina. The process of restructuring and democratization in the CSSR has generated enthusiasm in society. But at the same time, antisocialist groups are becoming more active and are trying to use the complexity of the renewal process for their own political ends, said Urbanek.

On the subject of the anniversary of the events in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, he stressed that foreign centers and antisocialist forces at home are planning to use this date to attack the Soviet Union and socialism. They are intending to organize disorders in Prague and other cities. Such provocations will be dealt an appropriate rebuff, said the representative of the CPCZ leadership at the rally.

CPCZ Assessment of 1968 Events Viewed

LD1808203789 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Prague August 18 TASS—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee met here today to discuss the social and political situation in the country.

The CTK News Agency said that the Presidium pointed to the growing activity of communists in preparing the 18th party congress.

The Presidium noted that recent meetings of party activists had fully supported the party's policy of restructuring and democratising society.

At the same time, communists at the meetings and in letters to the Central Committee expressed concern over attempts by anti-socialist forces to destabilise the socialist state.

In connecton with the forthcoming anniversary of the August 1968 events, some people in Czechoslovakia and abroad are making attempts to give their own assessment to them, the news agency said.

The presidium emphasised that the period of the social and political crisis of 1968-1969 and related events had been discussed in detail, on the basis of all available facts, and adequately assessed by the 14th party congress in 1971. Each period must be assessed with account taken of historical internal and external political realities, the presidium said.

Concerning the stand taken by the Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the August 1968 events, the Presidium pointed out that the Hungarian party leadership underestimated interrelationships between internal and external developments at the time.

It was emphasised that such a stand objectively plays into the hands of forces opposing socialism in Czechoslovakia and the policy of perestroyka.

The Presidium emphasised its interest in developing cooperation between the peoples of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and between the two parties.

Prospects for Czechoslovakia's developments are by right linked with the policy of perestroyka and democratisation, the CTK report on the Presidium meeting went on.

At the same time, the Czechoslovak public is watching with interest changes in individual socialist countries. It expresses its solidarity with efforts to strengthen socialism and consolidate relations between countries on the basis of new political thinking.

The Presidium also discussed some other issues. It pointed out that the Communist Party included 1,721,085 members on January 1, 1989. After the 17th party congress, 46,000 people have joined the party.

1968 CSSR Events Recalled, Bloc Reaction Noted

LD1908141789 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Aleksandr Shakhin commentary]

[Text] These days the public all over the world recalls the events that took place in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. On the night of 20 August, five socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty organization, moved their troops into Czechoslovakia. Aleksandr Shakhin comments on the events of 21 years ago, and he writes that when President Gorbachev visited Czechoslovakia in the spring of'87 he discussed the 1968 events with residents of the Czechoslovak capital while walking along its streets. That was a difficult period, the Soviet leader told them, but we have comprehended it, got over it, and let it pass through our hearts and minds.

While comprehending what happened then in Czechoslovakia we do this from the position of our time, proceed from the understanding of the tragic developments that formed in our days. But 2 decades ago the socialist world was guided by relations that were referred to in the West as the Brezhnev doctrine. Oh but let's not argue over the terminology since the essence of the matter is more important, and it lay in the fact that the socialist countries in their relations were oriented to the existence of the only possible model of socialism. Any deviations from that model toward more democratic socialism by any of the Warsaw Treaty countries gave the allies a pretext for interfering.

A whole epoch separates us from those times. In one of his recent speeches Mikhail Gorbachev formulated a new approach to the model of a socialist country. Now it has become obvious for all, he declared at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, that there exists no universal model of a socialist state and no one holds the monopoly of truth. Each nation decides by itself the future of its country, choosing by itself its own way of development and system of government. No one can interfere from outside under any pretext and impose one's own understanding of the policy pursued by another country, Mikhail Gorbachev said.

The pluralism of opinions reveals itself in today's assessment of the Czechoslovak events of 1968. Different countries react differently to these dramatic developments, controversial in nature. Each country in this case proceeds from its own understanding of the events, from the realities of its life. For example, the Hungarian Government and the Polish Parliament have denounced the introduction of troops into Czechoslovakia in'68, and qualified the act as a crude violation of the country's sovereignty. In Czechoslovakia itself an appeal of the leadership to the nation has been published. The Czechoslovak society, it says, is moving along the road of reforms. The process of restructuring and democratization is going on. Any attempts to whip up tension in connection with the anniversary of the 1968 events are bound to hamper the process. What the country needs first of all, the appeal says, is tranquility and honest labor.

Poland, Hungary's View of 1968 Events Noted

PM2008172989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "RUDE PRAVO Article"]

[Text] Prague—Under the headline "The MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Leadership's Stance," RUDE PRAVO carried a dispatch from Budapest on 17 August outlining the MSZMP Political Executive Committee statement on the anniversary of the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia, which was published by MTI.

This statement says that the present leadership dissociates itself from the stance of the MSZMP leadership at that time regarding the military aspect of the question's solution, and states that the leadership of the party of Hungarian Communists at the time, respectful of the basic norms of international relations and the interests of socialism, had initially advocated a political solution. At the same time, the MSZMP Political Executive Committee emphasized that any evaluation of the processes which occurred in Czechoslovak society in 1968 is a task within the competence of the CSSR and the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. The MSZMP has no wish to interfere in it, because its main goal is to develop good-neighborly Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations and mutually advantageous cooperation, as well as relations between the MSZMP and the CPCZ in a spirit of mutual understanding, trust, and respect.

"Despite this statement," the dispatch printed in RUDE PRAVO says, "and the initial response confirms this, the published viewpoint of the MSZMP Political Executive Committee objectively assists the antisocialist forces which, ignoring historical facts, want to exploit the 1968 events."

The Czechoslovak newspaper carries in the same issue a detailed summary of an article carried by the Polish newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU. Specifically, it "also touches upon certain attempts in Poland to provide a simplistic and one-sided interpretation (as done by the Senate)" of the same events in 1968.

GDR Paper Recalls 'Fraternal' Aid to CSSR

PM2008194589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "GDR: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Events in 1968"]

[Text] On 21 August 1968, five socialist states including the GDR rendered fraternal international assistance to the patriotic forces in Czechoslovakia, the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes in a commentary.

An extremely tense international situation prevailed in the late sixties, when any disruption of the military-strategic equilibrium posed a grave danger for the cause of peace. In this situation, the Warsaw Pact states persistently implemented a policy of strengthening peace, security, and cooperation in Europe which ultimately led to the Helsinki Conference Final Act. These states proceeded from the premise that it was necessary to maintain the political status quo which emerged as a result of World War II and postwar development. This policy encountered rigid resistance by NATO circles, which were unwilling to accept the actual realities and strove to weaken our military alliance, the article notes.

The newspaper points out that imperialist forces, primarily the United States and the FRG, tried to exploit the crisis for their own purposes. They perpetrated direct and massive interference in the CSSR's internal affairs. In these threatening circumstances, when virtually all means to stabilize the situation had been exhausted, the decision by patriotic forces in the CSSR to ask their friends for international assistance was the only acceptable way out.

GDR Protests FRG 'Guardianship' of Refugees

PM2208104189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Protest Lodged"]

[Text] Berlin, 17 Aug—The GDR Foreign Ministry has lodged a protest with F. Bertele, leader of the FRG permanent mission in the GDR, in connection with attempts by the FRG Embassy in Hungary to make illegal, provisions for GDR citizens to emigrate to the FRG. Around 100 people have taken refuge in this embassy. The activities of the FRG Embassy in Hungary with regard to GDR citizens contravene international norms, the protest states. They are incompatible with the relations between the GDR and the FRG, which are regulated on a treaty basis. In these documents both states, clearly stated that neither can represent the other in the international arena or speak in the other's name. This naturally also extends to relations with citizens of the other state.

During the conversation, which took place at the GDR Foreign Ministry, Bertele was told that the GDR considers that, in accordance with generally accepted international norms, FRG diplomatic missions have no right to exercise guardianship over GDR citizens. The West German side was told that in the spirit of the joint communique signed by E. Honecker and H. Kohl in September 1987, which expressed the two states' desire to develop mutual normal and good-neighborly relations based on equal rights, the FRG should immediately renounce such practices.

GDR Protests to FRG Over Border Incident

LD1808205789 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin August 18 TASS—On the night of August 18, two people opened fire from the territory of West Germany hitting borderline structures, residential buildings and the church in Waldhausen, an Erfurt region population centre located in close proximity to the state border between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Fifty shots were fired, damage was done to buildings, and human life was endangered, including that of servicemen.

The permanent representation office of the German Democratic Republic in Federal Germany has lodged a strong protest with the Federal Chancellor's office in connection with the incident and demanded that the federal government take urgent steps to avert further transgressions of this kind. A hope was expressed that the perpetrators will be punished for the criminal action.

West Europe

Further Reportage on Yazov Visit to Finland

Seen Off by Kochetov 16 Aug

PM2108153189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, left for an official visit to Finland on 16 August at the invitation of O. Norrback, Finnish defense minister.

He was seen off at the airport by Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, and other officials. The sendoff party included P. Oinonen, Finnish charge d'affaires in the USSR.

Welcomed Back by Lushev, Kochetov 19 Aug

PM2108160189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Visit Over"]

[Text] Helsinki—On 19 August Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, returned to Moscow.

He was met at the airport by Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, and Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister.

Finnish Professor Cited on Estonian Election Law

PM2108152989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent Voytto Leskinen report: "Finnish Academic Comments on Law on Elections in Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] Helsinki, 16 Aug—"The key question connected with events taking place in Estonia after the adoption by the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet of the Law on Elections to Local Soviets is the question of citizenship," Olavi Borg, professor of state law at Tampere University, stated. "In any civilized country," he continued, "each person enjoys all civil rights granted by the Constitution which operates throughout the state's territory."

"As for Estonia," the professor stated, "all the republic's inhabitants, both the indigenous population, and also those who have come here from other regions in the Soviet Union, are citizens of the USSR. What is now taking place in Estonia is a very complex process. The problems which have emerged there cannot be solved by force. A reasonable and sober approach is needed for this. Moreover, one cannot fail to take into account the statewide legislation in operation—the USSR Constitution—and also international practice and legal acts, in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

"As for Finland," he continued, "all our country's citizens, regardless of nationality, have equal electoral rights which are guaranteed by the constitution and the laws."

As an example of solving similar problems in Finland's history, O. Borg cited the practice existing in the Aland Islands where most inhabitants are Swedes. In accordance with a 1920 law adopted by the Finnish parliament, their territory is autonomous. The president of Finland can veto decisions made by the Aland parliament—the supreme organ of local power elected by a general vote, and Finnish laws on the most important questions may also apply to this territory without the consent of the Aland parliament.

Such questions as foreign relations, the country's defense, the activity of the juridical organs, finances, and also to a certain degree education and public health come under state jurisdiction.

"Problems of granting Finnish citizenship to foreigners living in Finland," O. Borg concluded, "so far do not exist. At present foreign citizens who have been living permanently in Finland for not less than 5 years, can ask for Finnish citizenship."

Iceland's President Praises Soviet Ties

LD2108061589 Moscow TASS in English 0549 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—Icelandic President Vigdis Finnbogadottir praised Icelandic-Soviet relations both in the field of mutually beneficial trade and in the sphere of cultural cooperation.

In an interview published in today's PRAVDA she declared for an all-round development of these relations in future as well.

The Icelandic president has just spent a week in the Soviet Union as an ordinary tourist together with her friends, thereby marking the 40th anniversary of their 1949 school graduation. Thirty-five Icelanders familiarised themselves with Leningrad, Moscow and with the Life of Soviet people.

"It is fine that I came here as a tourist and can tour your country freely as an ordinary person, getting pleasure from what I see, feel or experience," Finnbogadottir said.

"I have always dreamed of visiting your country, particularly Leningrad and Moscow. We are having a remarkable time, discovering many new things to ourselves."

"As a pacifist and ecologist I actively come out in favour of a fair attitude to all members of society," the Icelandic president said.

"I try to understand how our diverse world lives and to get to know its motive forces. Herein is one of the aims of my present tour. One can read hundreds of books, study dozens of manuscripts about some country but the best thing is still to see everything for oneself."

"And, of course, I am interested chiefly in culture and cultural heritage. It is precisely mankind's culture and the culture of various countries and peoples that is the key to the understanding of the surrounding world and of events and phenomena."

Speaking of Icelandic-Soviet relations, the president specially pointed out that Iceland and Icelanders were very much gratified by the fact that their country had been chosen as the venue of the 1986 Soviet-American summit. "We regard this as an integral part of our bilateral relations," Finnbogadottir pointed out.

Greece To Take Part in Mediterranean Exercise

LD1808223789 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Athens August 19 TASS—Greece will take part in a NATO exercise in the western Mediterranean from October 9 till November 14, Defence Ministry officials said here on Friday.

At the same time, it was announced that Greece will not particpate in NATO's "Display Determination" manoeuvres, which will be held in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea and on part of Turkish territory in September.

Greece has not taken part in NATO exercises in that part of the sea since 1985. According to reports, the decision to particpate in the exercise was taken by the previous government of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement.

French Firm To Develop Aeroflot Facilities

LD1808212489 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—The Soviet Ministry of Civil Aviation and the French Bouygues Construction Company signed an agreement on cooperation in the field of developing the Aeroflot Airlines infrastructure both in the Soviet Union and other countries. The agreement envisages the establishment in Moscow, on the basis of the International Commercial Civil Aviation Administration, of a Soviet-French coordinating committee. It will coordinate the construction and operation of air terminals and hotels in the Crimea, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Moscow, Barcelona, London and Brussels and identify new opportunities for cooperation, including enlisting other interested organizations.

RSFSR's Vlasov Receives Italian Official

LD2108150189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Today [21 August] Comrade Vlasov, candidate member of the Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, received (Landi), president of the government of the region of Lazio in Italy, who is in our country in connection with the days of that region which are being held in the Russian Federation. During the talks it was noted that the events encompassed by the days, which are enjoying great success in Moscow and several other towns of the RSFSR, reflect the growing friendship between the Soviet and Italian peoples. Matters relating to bilateral Soviet-Italian relations were discussed, including the multifaceted regional cooperation between the Russian Federation and Italian regions. The conversation was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Latin American & Caribbean

'Real Prospects' for Central America Peace Seen

LD1808215689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 18 Aug 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by V. Zorin]

[Excerpts] One of the main issues which continues to draw the attention of international affairs commentators is the outcome of the conference of the five presidents of the Central American countries in the town of Tela in Honduras. An accord was reached there on disbanding the Nicaraguan contras detachments and ending that dangerous armed conflict in Central America. We have already reported on that conference and what followed, but it seems to me that we should give a more detailed assessment of that major event now that we can look at it in retrospect. Rather than just another international meeting that ended in substantial decisions, I would say it was an event that really might become—and I stress might become—a turning point in modern Latin American history. I think this is the yardstick with which we should approach what is happening.

In the first place, real prospects have emerged for eliminating one of the most dangerous regional conflicts in the world today. Following the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the conclusion of the long-standing armed conflict in Cambodia, now acquiring real shape, we are witnessing real prospects for eliminating another dangerous military flashpoint—dangerous not only in itself, but by the fact that the conflicting parties have been backed on the one side by the United States and on the other, though to a considerably lesser extent, by our country.

It's no secret that at one time the Soviet Union undertook obligations—and fulfilled them—to supply arms to the legitimate government of Nicaragua, which was the victim of aggression. Some time ago, before the conference of the five presidents of the Central American countries, the Soviet Union suspended arms supplies to Nicaragua, given the emerging detente in the military and political situation in Central America and after consultations with the Nicaraguan leadership. Implementing the agreement reached in Tela would create real prospects for achieving an accord between the Soviet Union and the United States on mutually refraining from delivering weapons in the future. This alone allows one to say that this is an event of primary political importance both for the region concerned and on a broader scale, including Soviet-U.S. relations. [passage omitted]

In effect, for the first time in many decades of relations with its southern neighbors, Washington has turned out to be incapable of achieving its objectives. This is the second major aspect of the events taking place. The impossibility of Washington achieving the objectives it has pursued toward Nicaragua testifies to the completely new situation that has arisen in Latin America for the United States. It seems that the all too well-known big stick policy has outlived its usefulness and that the Tela conference, particularly if the decisions adopted are implemented, could become a new political starting point for Washington. This is why what we are seeing happening now should be regarded as events of primary political importance. [video shows Ortega speaking, contras training]

Ryabov, CPSU Delegation Visit Guyana

Received by Guyana President

PM2008144589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation Received"]

[Text] Georgetown, 18 Aug—The CPSU delegation headed by V.V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, which is on a visit here at the invitation of the ruling People's National Congress [PNC] party, was received by D. Hoyte, leader of the PNC and president of Guyana.

During the conversation that took place, D. Hoyte emphasized that the two parties and countries have traditionally good and sound relations, and the Guyanese side intends to continue to develop them and raise them to a higher level. The PNC leadership follows with profound attention the processes now under way in the USSR and known as perestroyka and glasnost. These processes have an effect on the entire world, and their influence is felt also in Guyana. Bearing in mind the importance of the changes taking place in your country, he noted, we have decided to send Vice President R. Chandisingh, general secretary of the PNC, as Guyana's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR.

Turning to the situation in Guyana, the president noted that the country is now experiencing a complex period of development and is coming up against many problems demanding immediate solution. The PNC and Guyana's leadership, he said, are exploiting all opportunities to overcome the existing difficulties and pursue an open policy aimed at effectively solving the tasks of national building.

In conclusion D. Hoyte conveyed to the CPSU leadership wishes for success in implementing the ambitious tasks of the perestroyka of Soviet society.

Meet Party Leader Jagan

PM2108121789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting with CPSU Delegation"]

[Text] Georgetown, 20 Aug—A meeting took place here 19 August between Cheddi Jagan, general secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana, and a CPSU delegation headed by V.V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department.

The meeting participants exchanged opinions on the parties' political and ideological activities in present-day conditions. Cheddi Jagan showed interest in the processes brought about by perestroyka and glasnost which are under way in the Soviet Union and their impact on world processes. He expressed confidence that the traditional close relations between the two parties would continue to further develop.

Political & Social

Ryzhkov Says Turn to Dictatorship 'Impossible'

LD1808141189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0950 GMT 18 Aug 89

["Ryzhkov's Interview With the Weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, August 18 (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has described the Soviet economy's current period as a very complex transitional stage, where administrative methods are interlaced with economic ones. "We are advancing towards a socialist market along a difficult road and in very unfavourable conditions, when there is more money in the sphere of production and in the population's hands than material resources and commodities, and when it is necessary to reduce the budget deficit drastically first and foremost in order to restore equilibrium in the national economy," he noted in an inteview with the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. "We must proceed at a pace that will not destabilize society and the economy. This is very dangerous. But if we stop, it will be tantamount to going back to where we started from."

The Soviet Government head believes that an optimal number of ministries and government committees was established for the current period, though in the future it should be reduced further. Everything depends on how quickly new economic management forms will develop. In Nikolay Ryzhkov's opinion, the present government is the "most intellectual of the past decade" and it is capable of carrying out a reform needed by the people.

Replying to the question regarding the possible term of activity of his government, Nikolay Ryzhkov expressed the opinion that it had been appointed for 5 years. "Everything will depend on the economic situation," he said. "To set up a new government, a new program is needed. The simple replacement of members of the government will not furnish anything. It must be replaced by another, more effective program which would lead the country along a more successful path. At the moment, we are going through very hard times, but we can smooth out the situation. In order to do that we must constantly correct our path, otherwise we can be forced back."

Speaking of his mistakes during his tenure as head of government, Nikolay Ryzhkov noted in the interview that he considers his main error to be his calmness over the results of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan. "There were good indices," he said. "In five or six sectors we conducted economic experiments. But when preferential conditions are created for enterprises during these experiments, then everything goes well. But what went well during the experiment did not turn out so well for the national economy as a whole, when we transferred all the enterprises to financial autonomy. My personal shortcoming here was that I should have thought it out more deeply and, as an engineer, I should have taken into account the factor of scale."

For the second year now we have been coming up against one and the same problem, the head of the government added. There is a serious increase in the production of goods, but the incomes of the population are growing even faster. In 6 months alone, they have increased by 12 percent. That is how it was previously in an 5-year plan. But labor productivity has only increased by three percent, the volume of goods production by 2.7 percent. The commodity turnover in the 6 months grew by 9.5 percent—that has never happened before! It is clear that excess money has appeared which is bringing pressure to bear on the market.

"We are to prepare five very difficult legislations for the Supreme Soviet's autumn session, including laws on property, rent and rental relationships, a uniform system of taxation, land, and enterprises," the Council of Ministers chairman said. "I do not think that they are merely economic laws. They will also affect political reform, that is the life of all our people. And topmost in this code of laws will be the law on property, not the one on enterprises." "Five teams of experts and scientists are now working on these legislations and we must adopt them in one package, not separately," the government head continued. "Otherwise contradictions may arise. Altogether these laws will inevitably alter the superstructure. I am convinced of it. It is impossible to voluntarily do away with ministries at one go, everything is much too interlinked."

Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed that he and Mikhail Gorbachev were like- minded people. "It is naive to think that we do not have different points of view on some questions, but on strategic ones we do not have differences of opinion," said the head of government."

Nikolay Ryzhkov rounded off the interview by expressing the firm conviction that a turn from democratisation to dictatorship was impossible in the Soviet Union. "Even if somebody wished to do it, the people would never agree to it," he stressed. "I am sure of that."

Yeltsin Warns of 'Revolution,' 'Civil War'

LD2108180489 Warsaw PAP in English 1657 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—The Polish monthly REPORTER carried an extensive interview with Boris Yeltsin entitled "We Have Very Little Time." Yeltsin said that he had a different view of the tactics of perestroika than Mikhail Gorbachev. I think that one should not have carried out perestroika on such a broad front...but we always had one strategy—the renewal of society and political goals, he said.

Answering questions about his assessment of the situation in the USSR, Yeltsin said:

"The assessment is that we—including the economy, the party, finances, social situation, culture and morality—are unfortunately in the crisis situation.

"Perhaps, a step is still separating us from an abyss. Perhaps, we can speak about the pre-crisis situation rather than the crisis one but this does not change the crux of the matter. We have already very little time, as one year or a year and a half have remained till the moment when grass-roots revolution starts.

"Let us be open to the end. Civil war can break out but we cannot allow this.

"I think that scientists should develop a new model of socialism and one should adopt the teaching of Lenin, positive and negative experiences of our country and similar experiences of socialist countries and other countries as a starting point. We must create a new and attractive model of socialism.

"One should start from convening extraordinary congress of the party.

"One should also elect a new composition of the Central Committee, as the present one is too conservative, and one should also elect a new make-up of the Political Bureau."

Boris Yeltsin said he would not give up political struggle.

Answering questions about his personal life, Yeltsin said that he slept three or four hours a day, had only one meal and this after midnight and played tennis. His disease two years ago had no political character and his health condition is all right.

Yelstin, Mamedov Discuss Interregional Alliance

LD2108150689 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32 6 Aug 89 pp 9-10

[Unattributed feature, including interviews with People's Deputy Boris Yeltsin and Baku District Party First Secretary Veli Guseyn Ogly Mamedov by unidentified reporter in Moscow: "Why Should The Deputies Split? Veli Guseyn Ogly Mamedov v. Boris Yeltsin: Do We Need an Interregional Group of Deputies?"; date of interview not given]

[Text] This group got together at the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies. Today MN [MOSCOW NEWS] reports on the meeting of the group held in Moscow last week. Before the meeting, our correspondent asked two people's deputies: Veli Guseyn Ogly Mamedov, first secretary of a District Party Committee in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, and Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Committee on Construction and Architecture of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to answer the following questions:

1. What do you think has brought some deputies together in an interegional group?

2. Could the consistent comparison of different viewpoints and alternative solutions to the problems facing this country be effected by other methods?

3. What is your constituents' attitude to the very idea and objectives of such a group?

4. What is to be done so that the controversy surrounding the group can be resolved for the benefit of all?

Veli Guseyn Ogly Mamedov:

1. Representatives of the interregional group took the floor at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet saying it was the atmosphere at the session that made them set up the group. As far as I understand, being in the minority, they were not able to speak up, to express themselves. Unlike them, I cannot recall a single instance when they asked for but were denied the floor. Perhaps the reason is because our schedule was too tight. There is no time for deputies to communicate outside the session. But we've got commissions and committees for this purpose. Let's meet argue and work under the same roof.

In principle, I agree to differences of opinion inside parliament, and the creation of organized groups. But not at the moment. We are not yet mature enough, we have not established our credentials as a parliament yet. Factionalism like this will do us no good.

Generally speaking I'd rather not divide us deputies into two categories, the radical responsive to the people, and the conservatives obedient to the bosses. We are a single whole that by and large reflects the level of our society's development with all the good and the bad.

2. There are people of differing opinions at the USSR Supreme Soviet and at its various commissions and committees. Let us discuss things there, working together. Alternative variants can be compared without splitting. Perhaps, the committees and commissions have not yet found their indentity. Perhaps they make mistakes. But let's detect and correct them together. If there's a need for another committee, for instance, to hold special discussions, let's set it up. But within the framework of the Supreme Soviet, and all together.

3. I recently met with the Caspian Sea sailors and the activists from my constituency in Baku. There have been no questions about the interregional group. People reproached our Azerbaijanian delegation with passivity, especially insofar as the Nagorno Karabakh issue is concerned. But on the whole they approved of our

performance. Especially of our desire to follow in the mainstream of the Congress and the session, without being distracted by intervening issues.

4. I wish the organizers of the interregional group stopped, thought better, realized what they were doing, and switched their activity over to committees and commissions.

Boris Yeltsin:

1. The interregional group has brought together those deputies who are not content with perestroika's tempo, its half-hearted measures in politics, the economy, the nationalities issue and the social sphere—the measures that have brought our country to the verge of crisis. These deputies believe that perestroika has done nothing to improve the people's living standards, that the situation has worsened in some areas, and popular trust in perestroika has dwindled. These deputies want decisive, radical and full-scale measures.

We do not at all intend to pull the Supreme Soviet apart, create opposition, struggle for power or block other deputies' motions, as is some-times alleged. By no means. But we do intend to introduce, on behalf of our group, serious corrections to draft legislation, and to propose our own drafts of the laws we regard as particularly urgent for society. We shall work to prepare for the second and subsequent Congresses of the USSR People's Deputies. This is perfectly normal, and in line with the Constitution. If there exists a certain draft, and there appears an alternative version, this is all for the better. The best option will be chosen and adopted. Such is the normal parliamentary practice of all civilized countries in the world.

2. I think that without such an arrangement, we shall have a debating society, and alternative proposals and especially alternative drafts of legislation will be difficult to prepare. Where will they come from? No individual is capable of drafting a proposal on his own. Shall we go on proposing minor editorial corrections? This is possible, but unconstructive.

Making a proposal on behalf of a big group adds weight to it. At the same time we do not say that whoever joins this group must conform to certain regulations. No. Everyone is free to voice his or her own point of view. But if we propose a draft or an amendment on behalf of the group, all the members of the group ought to promote it, actively speaking for it at the session or Congress, and vote in its support.

3. We are receiving heaps of letters and telegrams with serious and well-substantiated arguments in our support. Every week I meet with my constituents. Thousands of people come to see me at industrial enterprises and institutes. Every time, I get 300 to 400 written questions and notes. Not a single one has so far been negative with respect to the idea of our group. People write that it is right, and see it as Soviet pluralism in action, on the basis of which we ought to develop our laws.

4. Time will show if more deputies choose to join our interregional group, if it is going to expand. We hope it will.

We would like to be officially registered with the Supreme Soviet. As for the present meeting of the whole inter-regional group, our representatives turned to the President of the Supreme Soviet with the request to allow us to meet in the hall where the Supreme Soviet generally sits, which is only logical, because the request has come not just from a dozen deputies, but from 300. The answer was: there's been no precedent for anyone getting this Kremlin hall for a session. We are not anyone, we are the USSR people's deputies.

We shall by all means publish our own newspaper, The People's Deputy. the first issue has already been printed, although under a different logo. Once again we were told: Let it be the first independent newspaper in this country.

In recent years, there have been many things which at first seemed unusual to many. But then controversy calmed down. I hope that the same thing will happen in this case too.

Internal Affairs Ministry Reports on Abkhaziya

LD2108171189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] As has already been reported several times, a special regime of citizens' conduct is in force in Abkhaziya. In the last 3 days, the provisional press center of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] reports, 326 people have been arrested for breaking the regulations on movements in the conditions of the regime, and 36 firearms have been confiscated from citizens. In Sukhumi Rayon the militia have confiscated 300 kg of explosives, and in the area of the city of Gagra, 6 kg. An investigation is in progress. Many inhabitants of this autonomous republic have been voluntarily handing over weapons, ammunition, and explosives to the internal affairs organs, thereby helping to normalize the situation.

Unfortunately, however, not everyone is doing so, and thus the MVD leadership and the command of the operations group of MVD troops are insistently appealing to citizens to surrender weapons, ammunition, and explosives, since those who do so voluntarily are exempted from criminal responsibility.

Troops Confiscate Weapons in July

PM0308123789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Semenyaka report under the rubric "On Events in Abkhazia": "Shots in the Night"]

[Text] Sukhumi, 28 Jul—A troop detail headed by Captain G. Sheludko was serving on the bypass skirting the settlement of Vladimirovka in Gulripshskiy Rayon. The

operational situation had made the command of the troop operational group take additional measures to prevent skirmishes on interethnic grounds in the region. Additional forces had been sent there for that purpose. The internal troops personnel were to step up work on confiscating firearms illegally held by the local populace.

At approximately 0200 a passenger car began approaching the troop detail from the direction of Dranda, the rayon center. The driver drove up to the post, fired two shots, and tried to reload his rifle. He failed. Capt G. Sheludko and his subordinates—cadets of Novosibirsk Higher Military Command School of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD]—arrested the man who had fired and took him to the nearest militia department.

A few minutes later, at the same post, an unidentified armed man responded to a demand to hand over his weapon by twice firing at the cadets at close range. They heard the first charge of small shot whistle over their heads. The second hit the bulletproof vest of Cadet K. Zelinskiy. The cadets were forced to open fire in return, as a result of which the man who had fired was fatally injured. None of the servicemen suffered.

Over the past 24 hours 80 firearms, including 3 submachineguns, 4 pistols, 2 rifles, and 33 kg of explosives, have been confiscated from the local populace or handed in voluntarily. In all, 1,342 items of firearms have been confiscated since the start of the events.

"The situation in Abkhaziya remains tense," Colonel General Yu. Shatalin, chief of USSR MVD Internal Forces, pointed out at a briefing. "It is complicated by the fact that the population has had a large quantity of weapons to hand. Tension is also fanned by the fact that the national defense staff headed by Kostava exists in western rayons of Georgia—specifically in Zugdidskiy Rayon. I was there the day before yesterday and met with some leaders. They were given an opportunity to see for themselves that the roads are not blocked in Gudauta or in other rayons of Abkhaziya and that there are no self-defense detachments in the streets, including in Gudauta. On meeting with us, the leaders agreed that at this stage the chief task of all sober-minded people is to prevent bloodshed and hand over weapons. On returning to Zugdidi and Kutaisi, they addressed rallies quite differently...."

Questions arise: Whom does interethnic strife benefit? What will happen tomorrow? Time will answer them. But today USSR MVD forces are controlling public order and promptly suppress attempts at interethnic discord.

Siberian cadets serve around the clock. On driving past one of the posts, I saw an elderly man approach them and hand over a weighty melon.

Estonian Party Officials Comment on Strike

LD0308124589 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1100 GMT 26 Jul 89

[From the "Antenna" program: Studio discussion with Mikk Titma, secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee, (Raivo Vare), member of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, (Rein Kaarepere), member of the Estonian Council of Ministers, and moderators Juri Hansen and Mart Siimann]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Siimann] And there are other questions from listeners in which they hint that the present strikes are political strikes, and they ask if in the given situation it would not be possible to ban political strikes.

[Titma] Well, in the given case I cannot in any way agree. Be the strikes political or economic, in any democratic country they are organized by trade unions. The possibility of banning a political strike is another matter. The question is again that one can indeed act using force but one must always understand that after applying force, life must go on. And for that reason, one must always be very careful when applying force. [passage omitted]

There is a question for me: Do we need to fear that provocations may also extend to the population? There is a probability that in some factories, for example in the Baltic ship-repair works, the strikers may come out into the streets. Our militia is ready for all such possible provocations and will apply measures, as one would (?expect) with such actions. [word indistinct] meanwhile, a reproachful question has come for the Supreme Soviet Presidium. It has become a bad habit here that essential draft laws are handed out to the deputies immediately before the beginning of a Supreme Soviet session. This provides the opponents of the draft law with an opportunity to obstruct discussion and voice justified protest. Can the Supreme Soviet Presidium not improve its work in this respect?

[Vare] I would like to begin with the last question about opponents. The situation as it evolved at the last session was to a certain degree also conditioned by the fact that the opponents were not ready to say anything about the form in which the draft finally reached them. But as far as poor organization of work is concerned, I would like to say this: Public discussion as such takes time; and processing the results and shaping them into a juridical form also takes time. So I would say here, with a full sense of responsibility, that work was very tense indeed and there was nothing one could do about the results. Once again, however, this evidently demonstrates this need, in my opinion, to change over to th generally-recognized practice in which all legislative acts go through several readings. So far, we have not used this format, we have continued in the old spirit, but it has now turned out that one can no longer proceed in this way, and that several readings are necessary. And now,

in fact, the continuation of the session, will indeed demonstrate that we have switched to the new format and carried out several readings. [passage omitted]

[(?Hansen)] Radio listener Juht—excuse me if I have made a mistake with the name—proposes setting up a joint front against the strike. Is there any point?

[Titma] Well, here I would like to emphasize the well-known fact that using force results in opposing force. And in that sense, there is no need now to split the society between the strikers and the so-called anti-strikers. It would be better to work at present with all those people; the overwhelming majority of people who are currently involved with the strike are not in principle on strike. It is indeed a certain group, an organization which is behind this and which is first and foremost fighting for itself, and for its own political existence. This must be understood And on no account must this situation become embroiled with problems in interethnic relations. In that case the organizers of the strike would have achieved their goal; because their actual goal is indeed "a special situation" and leading interethnic relations down to a conflict in Estonia. This was in essence directly threatened by Kogan a the USSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

And another issue is that we live in the same town, in the same republic as the strikers and we must achieve a certain civilized relationship even if our interests differ. Even if we strive for different political goals, we must have a political mechanism to bring about civilized settlements. And I would dare to take this responsibility upon myself that the majority of the population strives namely for this, regardless of nationality. [passage omitted]

Deputy Minister Loses Post Over Soap Shortage

LD2108211989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] By way of monitoring the fulfillment of decisions that have been adopted, and in connection with the continuing complaints of working people, the matter of providing the population with cleaning agents was considered in detail today at the USSR Council of Ministers. It was noted that the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Oil Refining Industry, the Agrokhim state association, and the state agro-industrial committees of the union republics so far have not corrected the situation with regard to satisfying the population's demand for synthetic cleaning agents and household and toilet soaps.

The USSR Council of Ministers released Deputy Minister Ivanov from his post for his irresponsible attitude toward fulfilling the targets for increasing the production volumes of synthetic cleaning agents. The need for measures to be taken urgently in order to develop the production of cleaning agents and to insure, in the near future, the complete satisfaction of the population's need for these goods was indicated to Lemayev, USSR minister of chemical and oil refining industry.

Petrov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Chemical and Timber Complex, was reprimanded for failing to take timely steps to increase the production of synthetic cleaning agents and for his lax control in this matter.

Supreme Soviet International Committee Meets

PM0708134789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report under the "USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions" rubric: "Perestroyka in International Relations"]

[Text] At its final sitting before the parliamentary recess the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee paid special attention to the key questions laid out in M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the results of his visits to Britain, the FRG, and France and his participation in the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee conference.

The new political thinking, A.S. Dzasokhov, acting chairman of the committee, told the sitting, makes it possible to pursue the course of international cooperation in the political and economic spheres. Perestroyka in the sphere of international relations will make it possible to substantially constrict political philosophy based on a confrontational approach.

It was stressed at the sitting that the profound transformations under way in the USSR, interest in which is steadily growing abroad, are taking place as part of improving the socialist formation.

During examination of questions concerning the sphere of interparliamentary ties, deputies noted that M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the Council of Europe Assembly in Strasbourg opens up new opportunities for cooperation between the USSR and the European Community, of which the parliamentary dimension is an important element.

During discussion of the Soviet Union's allied relations with Warsaw Pact states committee members noted the need to deepen the Supreme Soviet's ties with the parliaments of fraternal countries and to carry them out in line with present-day demands. The importance of the documents adopted at the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference, which constitute an integrated action program toward a safe, peaceful Europe, was pointed out.

Expressing the general atmosphere of the Congress of People's Deputies and in accordance with the instruction of the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet, the International Affairs Committee intends to accelerate the work of fulfiilling international agreements, particularly those signed during the Soviet leader's visits to Britain, the FRG, and France. In the light of this the committee members will monitor the activity of state departments to ensure the absolute discharge of the Soviet Union's commitments, particularly in the sphere of international economic cooperation. Bearing in mind the importance of urgently solving the problems existing here, the committee members expressed their readiness to become actively involved in this work. In their speeches deputies pointedly criticized the low effectiveness of foreign trips made by delegations and pointed out that their plans for work abroad were not always thought through.

Deputies stated the committee's intention to seek to ensure strict observance of the letter and the spirit of the Congress of People's Deputies resolution and its appeal to the peoples of the world and to actively promote the implementation of effective parliamentary constitutional oversight of the execution of fundamental directives in the sphere of international ties.

Lukyanov Chairs Constitution Commission Meeting
LD0708165889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] There was a meeting of the commission on preparing a USSR draft law on changes and supplements to the Constitution, the basic law of the USSR, today in the Kremlin. It was chaired by Comrade Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. At the meeting special attention was paid to implementing the instructions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet on making amendments to the current USSR Constitution on issues of the electoral system and other essential issues of social development. The necessity of taking into account the proposals and remarks of USSR people's deputies was recognized as well as proposals reaching the commission from citizens, public organizations, and scientific establishment.

Commission Examines Constitutional Oversight Law
PM0408085789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Commission Session"]

[Text] A routine session of the commission formed by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to prepare the USSR draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR was held in the Kremlin 28 July. The session was conducted by USSR People's Deputy D.A. Kerimov, commission chairman and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

There was a discussion of the first version of the draft law, prepared by a working group set up by the commission and consisting of USSR people's deputies, scientists, and specialists. Further work on the draft to more clearly define the competence of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee and its operating procedure was deemed necessary.

Kolbin Attends Supreme Soviet Committee Session
PM0308130589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Report by V. Yegorov, TASS parliamentary correspondent: "New Concerns for People's Controllers"]

[Text] G.V. Kolbin had to work really hard when he came to a scheduled session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Management and Self-Management. Possibly not even at the actual Supreme Soviet session where, after a long and extremely pointed debate, Gennadiy Vasilyevich was confirmed as chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, had he had to conduct such an intensive dialogue with deputies.

This time different demands were being made on the main "people's controller": He is no longer simply required to set out his program but to take the first practical steps towards putting it into practice. The committee session held a fundamental discussion about creating a unified all-union system of control which would have effective influence at all levels and in every sector of the national economy.

"A most important task of the People's Control Committee," G.V. Kolbin stressed, "is to strengthen staff discipline. It is no secret that the nationwide cuts in the administrative apparatus have proved fictitious in a number of cases: Staffers from redundant ministries have simply transferred to administrative work in specially created production and science-and-production associations. Order must be brought in this matter by preventing an unwarranted mushrooming of staffs."

In the conditions of persisting shortages, deputies stressed, there must be tight controls over trade enterprises and cooperatives selling their goods at exorbitant, sometimes black market prices. It is particularly important to reinforce this link of the People's Control Committee with reliable, proven cadres. The Committee unanimously approved the nomination of Toktogul Chilebayev, chairman of the Kirghiz Consumers Union Board, to the post of deputy chairman of the People's Control Committee for trade and consumer services.

All matters are of concern to the members of the parliamentary committee, which is guided in its practical work by the slogan "All power to the soviets!" Today, for

example, they continued to discuss the draft law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes, the first version of which was rejected by them because of the vague wording.

"What we need is a legislative act that will not draw a veil over conflict situations but will, on the contrary, create a clear-cut legal mechanism for resolving labor conflicts at every stage of their consideration," N.D. Pivovarov, committee chairman and chairman of the Rostov Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, said in this respect.

But the main concern of the committee is to prepare a package of draft laws to regulate the activity of soviets at various levels: On the status of people's deputies in the USSR, on the mandates of voters and social organizations, on the general principles of local self-management and the local economy in the USSR....

After a comprehensive discussion and the comparison of alternative versions, they will be submitted to the fall session of the Soviet parliament.

Resolution on Enactment of 'Judges' Law

18001511b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 89 p 2

[Decree of USSR Supreme Soviet issued in Moscow, 4 Aug 1989: "On the Procedure for Putting Into Effect the USSR Law 'On the Status of Judges in the USSR'"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet hereby decrees:

Article 1. To put the USSR Law, "On the Status of Judges in the USSR," into effect on 1 December 1989.

Article 2. To instruct the committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for questions of legislation, law and order, and legal procedure to bring up for the consideration of the USSR Supreme Soviet proposals concerning putting existing legislation into effect in keeping with the USSR law "On the Status of Judges in the USSR." To these ends it is deemed necessary to prepare the following legislative acts:

A USSR law "On Liability for Disrespect for the Court and Interference in the Resolution of Court Cases" (to be developed by the USSR Supreme Court before 1 October 1989);
a new edition of the USSR law "On the USSR Supreme Court" (to be developed by the USSR Supreme Court before 1 January 1990);
a USSR law "On Military Tribunals" (to be developed by the USSR Ministry of Justice and the USSR Supreme Court before 1 October 1989);
decrees of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On the Oath of the Judge and the People's Assessor," "On the Approval of Provisions on Qualifications Boards of Judges," "On Approval of Provisions on Disciplinary Liability of Judges, Recall, and Early Release of Judges and People's Assessors," and "On Certification of Judges" (to be developed by the USSR Ministry of Justice and the USSR Supreme Court before 1 October 1989).

Article 3. To instruct the USSR Council of Ministers to resolve within 2 months the question of improving material support for workers of courts, procuracies, and justice departments in keeping with proposals of the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR Ministry of Justice, and the USSR Procuracy, which was previously brought up to the USSR Council of Ministers, having provided for financing these expenditures by adjusting state customs rates.
[Signed] Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, M. Gorbachev
[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin, 4 August 1989

RSFSR Presidium Chairman Views Development

PM2108140389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Report by TASS special correspondents S. Vozianov and G. Krasnogor: "Active Stance Needed From Communists"]

[Text] Magadan, 19 Aug—A trenchant and businesslike discussion about the problems involved in developing the agrarian sector of the economy and the role of the party leadership in this most important area of economic life was held today at the Magadan CPSU Oblast Committee Plenum. V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, took part in its work.

The country is now experiencing a critical moment in perestroyka, he said, addressing the gathering. The ideas of renewal have won over the broad people's masses. At the same time the complexity and disparate nature of the processes under way in the country, the unusual nature of the situation, and inadequate consideration and sluggishness in decisionmaking is worsening the situation in the socioeconomic sphere, which often results in negative sentiments and doubts spreading. The party has found itself subject to criticism, and many people are ready to blame it for all the unresolved questions and all the shortcomings. A trenchant debate is underway regarding the CPSU, its place in society, and its role in perestroyka.

The Central Committee points out that there is a threat of the CPSU's guiding role in perestroyka becoming enfeebled. This is a very serious and alarming conclusion, which should spur on the party, its leading bodies, and primary organizations to in-depth changes in its activity.

The renewal of the party requires every party organization—proceeding on the basis of common tasks—to have its own program for perestroyka which accords with the specific conditions within the collective and the

region. The elaboration of such programs will also be the key to the perestroyka of party work and a means of increasing Communists' activeness.

One hardly has to prove that the main reasons for the current deterioration in the situation are above all economic ones. It is particularly important here to ensure that the party plays an active role in the present complex situation.

The government is taking emergency measures to improve finances and money circulation and eliminate the shortage of consumer goods. Vast reserves to boost the effectiveness of the economy are on hand in every area. It is party organizations that must initiate the work to make active use of these reserves.

Yet can we continue to allow up to one-fourth of the harvest we have cultivated by herculean effort to be lost in the fields and on the highways and rot in warehouses and storehouses? Can we really tolerate countless hours of absenteeism in production? Can we really tolerate the fact that many enterprises may be said to be ruining the state and working at a loss, obtaining kopecks per ruble of production costs?

All these problems can only be radically solved using new methods of economic management. But they are having difficulty in making headway and are encountering inertia, indifference, and sometimes even outright opposition. That is why we must compel every Communist today to actively champion economic accountability [khozraschet], leasing, the contract, and all progressive forms of economic activity.

What fundamental demands must be made on a party organization's activity today? What qualities are most valuable today in a Communist?

I would like to answer these questions in the following way.

First, enterprise in work. For Communists to have prestige and influence among the masses, they must anticipate and foresee the development of events and put forward attacking rather than defensive slogans. Calm, measured action is not needed today; drive, fervor, and vigor are what are needed, audacious and bold actions, if you will. That is the only way to convince and lead people.

Second, untiring vigorous work among the masses. This Leninist precept has been forgotten somewhere along the line, and some party members have, moreover, begun to show fear of the masses. We must not be carried away by impracticable schemes or stun people with specious slogans. We must stand firm with both feet on our fallible earth. Our lives must be dictated by people's mood and present-day requirements. We must take to heart the concerns of those people who still lack normal housing and for whom city markets are excessively costly, those people who are in ill-equipped hospitals and whose children study at overcrowded schools. We must not only sympathize with them but must also find ways to do all we can to ease people's position.

Third, we must master the art of contemporary political debate. To be blunt, in this matter we have been outperformed in some areas by forceful ambitious people, although they have succeeded more by dint of well-modulated diction than irreproachable argument. Certainly, it is not enough to be honest and truthful and have an impeccable reputation and proclaim correct slogans. One must also be able to defend, explain, and propagandize one's positions, deal a rebuff to demagogues, and deflect slander. Those are the laws of political struggle and they must not be forgotten. This applies to Communists of all ranks—ranging from ordinary members of primary organizations to Central Committee members.

Of course, more importance than ever is now attached to the consolidation of Soviet society and unity of action rather than schism within its state institutions. The idea that differences of opinion inevitably necessitate organizational demarcation between the proponents of these opinions does not hold water. Why? For these differences are not the result of social and class differences and do not reflect irreconcilable contradictions. Is it not more correct to say that the presence of various opinions is natural and inevitable in political life and must rouse people to seek unity, common positions, and consolidation? In my opinion, that is much more logical.

Having pointed out the key position that the election campaign holds in the political life of society, the speaker stressed that it must be the main area of Communists' activity at the present time. To put it mildly, V.I. Vorotnikov said, we underestimated the last election campaign and conducted it using traditional methods on the whole; and in some places we got our fingers well and truly burned, as the saying goes. We now need to get into the job from the very outset and develop it in an active and purposeful fashion. For it is a question of forming organs of power or, more precisely, of who will hold power. We must seek to ensure that worthy representatives of the people become deputies.

Moving on to analyze the work of the Magadan party organization to implement the targets of the Long-Term Program for the Development of the Far East, the speaker noted that Communists are doing a great deal to boost the level of the oblast's socioeconomic and cultural development.

During the first 3 and ½ years of the 5-year plan the Magadan party organization ensured the fulfillment of the program for meat, livestock, poultry, milk, and egg production, the program to increase production of nonfood consumer goods, and the annual plans for the commissioning of the overall area of apartment blocks, preschool establishments, and outpatient polyclinics and the provision of consumer services for the population.

At the same time serious imperfections can be laid at the door of all union and many republic ministries. During this 5-year plan the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification has failed to carry out the requisite amount of construction and installation work, and the commissioning of a number of Main Administration for Diamonds and Gold and Rare Metals facilities is in jeopardy. Many complaints have been made about the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, the RSFSR Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways, and construction ministries. There have been shortcomings in the work of the State Agro-Industrial Committee and the republic's Ministry of Grain Products.

Now a few more details about agro-industrial complex workers' affairs, which you are discussing today. Reindeer breeding is a leading area in the sector, but unfortunately it has been neglected in your oblast and its rich possibilities are not being used. We must ponder how to rectify matters here.

Another sector with which the people of Chukotka also have close links is fishing. But it too is by no means being developed as we would like. That is also to a large extent because of the shortage of processing capacities.

By and large it is processing which is the weak spot in the agro-industrial complex. There is still a very great deal of manual labor here. Including at the food combine in Anadyr, the hothouse farm, and other facilities. The food combine is simply in a semi-emergency state. Filth and disorder have been allowed to develop in workshops and people are rightly dissatisfied with their working conditions.

The vegetable situation is grave in Magadan and the oblast. Suppliers from the "mainland" prefer to sell these goods at contract prices. There is little produce at state prices. That is why we must have a serious think about how to increase vegetable production at hothouse farms. The city has good hothouses, but their area must be doubled in order to raise the volume of these facilities to the requisite level—1 square meter of hothouses per capita. This indicator should be even higher in your oblast.

It is a fact that soviet and economic organs are not making full use of existing opportunities to develop the economic complex in the oblast and are permitting serious miscalculations and sluggishness in resolving social questions. Conclusions have not been drawn from the shortcomings of the past. By and large you are not doing things of which you are quite capable.

Chukotka reindeer breeders' living conditions also produce a complex impression. Although these people have modest requirements, even they are by no means being fully satisfied.

You have a considerable number of experienced people who love their jobs, the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium said in conclusion. The people of Magadan—and I have met many of them during these few days—give the impression of being reliable, serious, and responsible people. Most of them are outsiders who have linked their destiny firmly and forever with the oblast, which has become their home. However, there are also people who are infected with the "time server" mentality. This mentality, which has cost the national economy dear, must be smashed without fail. Comprehensively developing the social infrastructure and boosting the level of cultural services is the one way of doing this.

The day before V.I. Vorotnikov familiarized himself with Magadan and the oblast. He had a meeting at the "Severovostokzoloto" Association with the labor collective council and mining enterprises' leaders and specialists. They discussed frankly the problems involved in mining production, ways to increase its effectiveness, and difficulties in resolving social questions. Lively conversations took place with residents at a trading complex and the city's general store.

During a visit to the Magadan maritime port, special attention was devoted to the question of improving the operation of transport. V.I. Vorotnikov was familiarized with the progress made in the construction of a new house construction combine; when this is commissioned the volume of housing construction in Magadan will double. Construction workers voiced just complaints about the Main Administration for Supply and its uneven delivery of construction materials. The member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo indicated the need to introduce progressive technologies and the urgency of employing new construction materials and using local resources in this business.

Ways to increase the effectiveness of agricultural production, saturate the market with food products, and improve output storage and processing were discussed at the "Prigorodnyy" State Farm [sovkhoz] hothouse combine and at the "Snezhnyy" Sovkhoz pig breeding complex.

The chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium laid flowers on the V.I. Lenin monument in Magadan's Central Square.

Shalayev, Avaliani on Strikes, Trade Union Role

PM2108150089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32 6 Aug 89 p 8

[Unattributed feature containing reports on interviews with All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions Chairman Stepan Shalayev and Kemerovo Strike Committee Chairman Teymuraz Avaliani: "Test by Strikes"; date, place of interviews not given]

[Text] Can the trade unions lead the working class movement and are they viable in the new political conditions? This is the question we must ask ourselves after the dramatic events connected with the miners' strike.

MN [MOSCOW NEWS] interviews Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], and Tejmuraz Avaliani, chairman of the Strike Committee from Kemerovo.

1. The AUCCTU chairman came to the Kuzbas as a member of a governmental commission. The miners' demands were addressed to him, too. Would it not have been more logical for the miners to invite him over to their side, and for him to make these demands rather than receive and consider them?

2. Why were the Soviet trade unions unable to lead the working class movement of miners in defence of their rights and of the principles of perestroika?

3. Both the draft law on the rights of trade unions, prepared at the AUCCTU, and the draft law on work collectives, signed also by the AUCCTU chairman, envisage too many procedures and agreements before a strike is recognized as legal. The impression is created that, when preparing these documents, the trade unions think: somebody else will be organizing strikes and protecting the interests of the strikers but not us: Is this impression correct?

4. A situation is taking shape where trade unions are becoming closely linked with the administration while a spontaneous working class movement is growing. When will the trade unions be able to go over to the other side, and how?

5. Have new strikes been forecast—the time, the place? In the event of a large-scale labour dispute, how will the AUCCTU, primary organizations and strike committees act? Will strikes be used as a tool in the struggle for the interests of working people in the future, too?

Stepan Shalayev

1. Just look how a journalist's inaccuracy can wrongly influence public opinion. Someone called the commission "governmental", and this word stated appearing in the papers. But it was a joint commission of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. How could it be governmental if it was not headed by a government member but by Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo? I hope you realize the difference. We must think more carefully about how such small misunderstandings can sometimes lead to major conflicts.

I asked to be included on the commission straight away. We contacted local trade union people right at the beginning of the strike and we knew how complex the situation was. I arrived as the AUCCTU chairman to consider the working people's demands. At the first meeting in Kemerovo I told miners that I'd come to defend their interests, as a member of this commission.

2. One of the main rules of our work is that labour conflicts should be considered in time, before they lead to stoppages. In the Kuzbass social and economic problems had been very much ignored. The miners had to go to extremes. And some of us didn't know how to react. I can't justify this, but I understand. However, we have a legal procedure for settling individual labour conflicts which determines a trade union committee's rights—the administration is obliged to fulfil its decisions. This makes it possible to protect the interests of the working people. Last year we considered half a million labour conflicts and only in one per cent of cases took decisions in favour of the administration.

There is no such procedure for collective labour disputes. But then, neither is there any clarity regarding who should consider disputes and adopt decisions, and within what period of time (allowing for complaints against them). So it is hard to understand what you should be demanding from whom. That's why we've been insisting on such a law since June 1988. The AUCCTU prepared a draft and submitted it to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in April.

If the document had been adopted in time, we could have shoved it in front of the lazy administrators in time, and avoided strikes.

3. No. When preparing the draft we were drawing on our international experience. We referred to ILO [International Labor Office] recommendations, and the conventions our country has signed. We envisaged various ways of settling labour conflicts. A strike is an emergency measure, but what comes before this emergency? Labour commissions and arbitration. We are not interested in complicating things, like, for example, in Britain where to announce a strike nearly all trade union members should vote for it by post. The draft also speaks of the right of trade union committees to announce strikes only in cases when the administration either doesn't abide by procedure, or doesn't honour agreements.

4. Yes, our local trade union leaders are often criticized for being too dependent on the administration. How do we avoid this? First of all, by electing trade union leaders on an alternative basis—directly at the meeting. When they have a choice, people prefer to vote for the most principled person who won't sell himself for behind-the-scenes privileges, or give in to pressure. The second trend is to elect more workers. This is the most independent category of people, with the strongest links with the masses, and, unlike the engineers, they do not fear for their careers. We're implementing these principles and chairmen are becoming more independent.

5. We know there is social tension at a whole number of metallurgical enterprises' and at railways. This alarms us very much. We've already put out recommendations as to how trade union activists should behave in conflicts. We must consider the situation at all levels—trade union

committees should make demands on the administration, regional TU [trade union] committees on the regional leadership, TU Central Committees on the ministries. If agreement is not reached at any section of this chain and the workers would still resort to a strike, the TU committees must lead the strikers.

But I stress once again: the main task is not to let emergenices develop, but to settle questions in time. We now have to learn to lead in hard conditions. And real leadership always means responsibility.

Teymuraz Avaliani

1. I think everything is quite clear here, unfortunately. In our country the AUCCTU is an organ of state power. The trade unions deal with pensions, sick pay and work conditions not independently, but in close liaison with state departments. Therefore, the AUCCTU is for us miners another high echelon of power giving out orders. That's why we didn't invite Comrade Shalayev to our side, but made demands on him as on other representatives of power. Both my comrades and I believe he's also responsible for the socio-economic situation that took shape in the Kuzbass.

But we're also to blame for our trade union having lost the ability to fight. We have tolerated for too long a role that doesn't belong to it, that of instrument of the command- administrative system, and forgiven our trade union people for their compliance and lack of principle. So, when the situation became critical, they just hid behind our backs.

2. The roots go very deep. The trade unions have obediently repeated the activities of our economic managers for decades. Have we ever had trade union committees at our enterprises? No, we had management departments checking fulfilment of production programmes by the trade unions. And let's face it—an economic manager picks trade union committee chairman just as he picks heads of departments.

They were subordinated forever, how could they demand anything? So we had to take things into our own hands and make demands which were purely of a trade union nature. Even when making political demands we mentioned economic demands, trying to turn things towards man's interests. All this could very well have been done by the trade union leaders, only—it couldn't. The trade unions have for too long been a haven for weak party and economic personnel who don't know how to work. What leadership can you talk about when these people have been led all their lives?

3. Here, too, trade unions lag behind and are guided by old yardsticks. They were again hoping for some small, insignificant conflicts, as if consciously not putting into action the mechanism of quick and effective settlement. And I don't see them as having power to influence political questions. Both the coal industry and agriculture are today subsidized by the state. That means we're parasites, doesn't it? But grain and coal are profitable. Maybe the price policy is wrong—when a ton of coal is equal in price to a bottle of vodka? How are we to struggle against this policy? What ways out do the drafts of the AUCCTU offer us? Practically none. So, we strike again?

4. Trade unions can hardly figure prominently in the working class movement in the present conditions of pure subjectivity and no independent decision making. I know that some change is planned in the functions of trade union organizations. But the principle remains the same—to agree and draw out the decision-making process for as long as possible. And we already know the scenario. On December 28, the workers of the Shevyakovo mine put forward their proposals, and these were sent to the Trade Union Central Committee, from there to the regional TU committee, then to the association, and, finally, back to the mine.

No, a cosmetic overhaul won't do. We must start setting up a fundamentally new type of trade union. Maybe, alternative trade unions.

5. It's hard to make forecasts yet. If some of our demands are satisfied this could cause social tensions in other industries or regions. If the government doesn't change economic policy very soon, strikes are inevitable.

At the same time it must be realized that we are not adventurists, or enemies of the state. Strikes mustn't be held because of absurd demands. Or, to be more precise: people should not be led to such a state. We know what a strike means. The situation can get out of control at any moment, and it is very hard to imagine what the consequences could be.

We've also realized what a mighty weapon it is. We don't intend to abuse it, nor do we intend to let it go.

Doguzhiyev Discusses Karaganda Coal Miners Strike

LD0708205189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Interview with Vitaliy Khusseynovich Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by Karaganda correspondent Sitykh in Karaganda: "Lessons of the Strike"; date of interview not given—recorded; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Here is a fact to mull over: During the strike, workers and managers of the most varied levels, including the oblast level, found themselves on different sides of the barricades. In words, for many years the slogan about the owner in our country being the working class had been heard, but it was the administration that ruled and it always did so in its own favor. The departmental, bureaucratic machinery of the Ministry of the Coal Industry had unlimited recourse to the coalminers' output and profit, not forgetting themselves, and taking quite a lot of money for maintenance of the apparatus. It

simply leaned on the coal miners. The strikers have put an end to this. They resolutely demanded full economic autonomy for the coal mines, and substantial cuts and then the liquidation of the amalgamation, and its conversion into an association of directors of enterprises. Mistrust was expressed in (Drizhdo), the general director of the Karaganda coal production amalgamation, and he was forced to leave his post. His successor will be elected on an alternative basis.

Here is another interview on the street. At the microphone is Vitaliy Khusseynovich Doguzhiyev, member of the government commission and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers:

[Doguzhiyev] I would say that you can solve any problem with our people if you are honest and open, understand their needs, and try to solve these needs together.

[Sitykh] Are there any chances that the Karaganda miners will start working better?

[Doguzhiyev] You know, if they see that we have started implementing what we agreed on, I think they are bound to work better and we will have a moral right to give a reminder of this. I would think that a different method should be used now. The strike should be ended in all sectors, and the government, the enterprises, and all of us together should be allowed, if only a year of normal work, a year to really hew things out—to coin a phrase—and then, in a year, it can be understood where we have worked well and where we have worked badly because many people are asking: Why is it like that in the United States and like this in our country? They do not ask: Why is labor productivity in U.S. industry 3-4 times higher than in our country and 5-6 times higher in U.S. agriculture? No one talks about that, but it is a fact. We need to tackle equipment and the organization of production, but we are not solving these problems.

[Sitykh] What do the coal miners need in order to pull themselves together?

[Doguzhiyev] I think it is an episode, this strike. I lived in Donbass from birth to the age of 17. I know the coal miners well. They are reliable folk. I think if they have their minimum conditions fulfilled they will give of their best, but there is another thing: You cannot solve anything today just with muscle, conscientiousness, and enthusiasm. You need equipment, and that is where we are lagging a fair bit.

Coal Minister Blamed for Strikes, Industry Ills

PM0808083189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Candidates of Technical Sciences V. Fedorov and N. Zhdankin, senior scientific staffers at the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Coal Institute: "Why the Miners Went on Strike, or the Distorting Mirror of the Planned-Loss Economy"]

[Text] Kemerovo—For a long time central organs, above all the Ministry of the Coal Industry and its main administrations, turned a blind eye to the true social and economic roots of an unprecedented phenomenon for our country. The sector headquarters tended to blame the local economic leaders for everything and point to party and soviet workers in coal cities and oblasts. Some, apparently, have failed to learn how to manage production in the conditions of widening democracy and glasnost, or how to foresee and promptly settle emerging conflicts. Others have failed to master "ways of combating" informal leaders and activists....

It has to be said that all this does occur. But it is far more important and honest to name as causes of collective conflicts the shortage of housing and food, the tense ecological situation and a level of medical services not consonant with the situation, and a lack of the most essential goods. But even this group of causes can only be regarded as the result of deeper, economic causes. It is on them that one would like to dwell.

The multibillion losses the country suffered as a result of the notorious "projects of the century" are now well known. But few people know the damage that is being done to the economy by the hitherto carefully concealed increase in production costs and the losses made by certain sectors, particularly mining. The coal industry is at the top of the league in this respect. Regarded for many years as a "planned-loss" sector, it has existed on state subsidies, which amounted to R5.4 billion in 1988. An enormous sum, as we can see, but has there been any benefit? Life shows that this kind of "economic" policy does nothing but harm. Years of generous injections of budget resources into the sector have far from encouraged thrift and a responsible attitude to the job, in fact, they have encouraged mismanagement and irresponsibility.

Labor productivity has fallen in the sector. In underground work it almost halved between 1975 and 1985. But there was no drop in pay. In fact, at the moment, there is no actual output to show for one-half of miners' pay (among the highest in the country, incidentally). One should add to this the totally unwarranted increase in production costs leading to a sharp increase in the prime cost of coal.

But the miners themselves are not working any worse!...

The present situation was effectively "programmed" by the very nature of the command style of management, which is incapable of taking unorthodox scientific conclusions on board. It is no accident at all that over the past 10 years the sector headquarters has remained deaf to scientists' warnings about chronic processes leading to economic decline and aggravated social tensions and has not only rejected scientific proposals on leading the sector out of the blind alley, but has in fact vigorously fought them. Nor have the proper conclusions been drawn from items in the press analyzing the problems we are examining and other very acute problems in the

sector. One example of this analysis is the recent series of articles in IZVESTIYA entitled "Kuzbass Economic Accountability" (Nos 170, 171, and 172).

The inflated managerial staffs of mines, associations, main administrations, and ministries, and also of the countless "smart" offices and "special" establishments have resulted in a multitude of all manner of commanders, with the return on their activities amounting to zero or, worse than that, a minus figure. Mindless, irresponsible management is the only explanation for the glaring instances of a disastrous decline in labor productivity and reduction in average coalface output, which in the two previous 5-year plans fell from 420 to 320 tonnes a day, which is just over one-sixth of the average output in the FRG, for example. Miners' labor protection has deteriorated against the background of the sharp increase in the cost of coal. Sad to say, the statistics for serious accidents indicate that on average each million tonnes of coal "claims" one human life. With annual production approaching 800 million tonnes, it is easy to see what this major coal industry is costing us.

It must be said that the defective pay system plays a part in this. Bonuses can constitute nearly one-half of a miner's pay. If he fulfills the monthly plan he gets a substantial bonus, but if he fails by even a fraction of a percent his pay can be almost halved. It is this that gives rise to pushiness and a barbarous attitude toward equipment and leads to gross breaches of safety rules. Efficiency, expediency, and often people's health and their very lives—everything is sacrificed to the notorious plan, to tonnage. In these conditions the leader's work is geared mainly to solving current tasks, since the entire leadership, from mine foreman to general director, gets bonuses for implementing monthly targets.

The management system is structured in such a way that the worker is reduced to the level of a mindless instrument—a trivial cog in the gigantic machine of the coal industry. The sector's system of labor norms plays a special role in this. The principles enshrined in it are so primitive that they prevent one from objectively taking into account the real working conditions and the actual contribution made by each team and each member of that team to the end result. The average sector normatives currently in use are like the "average temperature in a hospital" and, as a result of a multitude of adjustment coefficients, make for an extremely free interpretation of plan targets and of pay for them. And manipulation inevitably means that some people's interests are met at the expense of others', and this is the main source of the numerous conflicts between team and administration.

The specific nature of these conflict situations was very graphically manifested during the well known spring strike by the Vorkuta miners. When a team discovered an obvious discrepancy between monthly pay and the actual volume of work accomplished the mounting dissatisfaction at the injustice took an extreme form. It even got to the point where Minister M. Shchadov himself went to the mine to settle the conflict and quickly found the "requisite" norms and rate. Obviously, the norms were adjusted downward and the rates upward. Easy and simple, is it not? Well, such methods of "extinguishing fires" will do for 1, 2, 3, or 10 teams. But what if they all go on strike, as has now happened? Then not even subsidies of R10 billion will compensate for falling productivity and rising costs.

Clearly, a purely formal attitude to meeting demands will not solve the problem. To eliminate subjectivism, incompetence, and irresponsibility from the planning, norm-setting, organization, and pay system, release working people's initiative, resurrect the sense of being masters, steadily increase work efficiency, and as a result get richer, it is not enough simply to proclaim economic accountability. First of all, you must determine what levers and mechanisms you are going to use to improve efficiency and production safety and act vigorously in accordance with the laws of the new technical-economic policy. In our view, it must be based on the following theses.

One. Begin by putting planning in order. A properly adjusted plan is the foundation of effective work. Therefore labor planning and norm-setting should be placed on an objective footing. It is a matter of completely eliminating archaic "from the top" planning—on the basis of what has been achieved—and replacing it with program "from below" planning, on the basis of the true production potential, which, incidentally, is stipulated in the Law on the Enterprise. This planning should be based on scientific forecasting of coalface work efficiency using different types of technology. We will not go into details here, into the methods, which have been pretty well elaborated. We will just say that team members must participate in the forecasting. This will enable workers to identify work problems in advance, know what they are supposed to do in a particular situation and what material and labor expenditure it will involve, and ultimately to assess work prospects from the angle of potential pay. This system is not a figment of the imagination. It has been devised and successfully tested at a number of Kuzbass mines. So the paramount task is its widespread introduction.

Two. All participants in the production process must be linked by economic accountability relations[illegible]s and the work of the primary links (teams) must be based on contracts with leasing elements and pay in accordance with the end result; full pay without any restrictions, on the basis of firm rates set with the help of forecast calculations and flexibly reflecting labor expenditure dynamics in changing production conditions.

As a result of these economic relations there will be a steady requirement for all work to be of a high quality (so that it does not have to be altered later and there is no increase in the proportion of nonproductive expenditure), a strict account will be kept of expenditure and income, materials, energy, spare parts, and equipment will be saved, and so on. That is, everything will be done to reduce production costs.

The question arises: Who will help workers and, indeed, leaders to get to grips with all the subtleties of the proposed system? It would be naive, to say the least, to expect a hypertrophied apparatus to be able to do this.

In order to guarantee fully against further cases of arbitrary labor norm-setting and ensure true objectivity, the job of forecasting must be placed in independent hands. To that end one might set up in all the country's main mining areas economically accountable production forecasting centers—consultancies which would provide a full range of expert forecasts. These centers would train mine and association technical engineers in progressive decision-making methods, would make expert assessments of specific production problems, and would issue scientifically sound recommendations for eliminating them.

At first glance it may appear that the implementation of the proposal is a pretty obvious and simple matter. Unfortunately that is not the case. The crucial factor is not so much the scientific and methodological base as the conservative thinking of the leadership.

The ministry has a subsidies complex. Incidentally, subsidies are set at R6.3 billion for 1989, the first year of economically accountable work, that is, nearly R1 billion (!) more than last year. Can one talk of genuine economic accountability in that context? All the talk about economic accountability in the Ministry of the Coal Industry boils down to raising coal prices. Obviously this view meets with support in the government as well, since there are already plans, as of 1990, to raise wholesale prices by an average of 90 percent.

But who needs this "economic" policy? After all, price rises without a radical improvement in the economy are just state subsidies in disguise, effectively legalizing the expenditure-based method of management and placing a heavy burden on the people's shoulders. Not only coal, but metal, heat, electricity are also becoming more expensive. What of it—our trousers are getting more expensive!

It is difficult to rely on perestroyka in the sector when you get that sort of attitude from on high. No wonder, therefore, that the minister, well aware of all the proposals on transferring the sector to an economic growth footing, brushes them away as he would a troublesome fly. It is a quieter life, of course, when led at the state's expense. But if that kind of life suits the department, it cannot in any way suit the people. People are opposed to it. They can no longer live like that.

Miners' Hydrosystem Demand Reportedly Not Met
LD0308201189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 3 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Andrey Konstantinov] [video shows correspondent in front of local government building; caption identifies setting as Kuzbass] The entire Kuzbass is discussing the main news—the extraordinary session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies, which took place yesterday. It examined the issue of realization of the measures agreed upon between the Kuzbass regional strike committee and the CPSU Central Committee Commission, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions]. Judging by the report published in the newspaper KUZBASS, that session passed off in a sufficiently balanced manner. In fact, many dramatic events took place there.

In particular, the most genuine struggle flared up about one of the most sore issues: the construction of the Krapivinskiy hydrosystem. [video shows hydrosystem] The point is that in the course of many years now this construction site has been evoking the indignation of the entire kray. A demand for an end to the project was included as one of the points in the agreement between the government commission and the strikers. However, despite the agreement, works there—according to the data of the workers' committees—have nevertheless been conducted. This proved to be a complete surprise at the session. To check these facts, a special commission was formed there and then at the session at the suggestion of the workers' committees, a commission which set off by aircraft directly from the sitting for the installation. This is, I think, an unprecedented case in the practice of sessions of the oblast soviet. By evening the commission returned and confirmed that there had indeed been work at individual sectors of the hydrosystem, in spite of the agreement and the accords, with reference being made to the formal absence of prohibition from the ministry.

[Begin recording] [V.A. Moskalev, chairman of the Kemerovo Oblast Nature Protection Committee, identified by screen caption] If even today the dam was ready, for example, it is still impossible to fill such a bed. In that way we would actually make the reservoir into a stagnant pit. Yesterday we directly put a question to the head of PMK-24 [mobile mechanised column of construction works] Do you know about this instruction? Yes, we know. But, he said, no one sent down any instructions to us. For that reason have been working in approximately the same way as we worked previously, and we are fulfilling the instruction which we have from the oblast executive committee. Therefore, this scene even surprises us. We talked with the workers there. Many of them in general also did not know that such an instruction of the USSR Council of Ministers exists. [end recording]

[Konstantinov] In response to this situation, the oblast workers' committee decided to hold a 2-hour warning strike today, which was, in my view, a somewhat rash decision. After all, immediately after the report of the commission, all works at the Krapivinskiy hydrosystem were immediately stopped. The goal was attained, as they say, by peaceful means. There was no need for a strike precisely because of this position of the oblast

workers' committee; its proposal to strike was not supported in all mining collectives. One can draw two conclusions from all that has happened. First, one should not attempt to deceive people, especially in the era of glasnost. The second conclusion is that a strike is a fairly menacing weapon. However, one must not take it up without having given good thought to it. [video shows hydrosystem]

Lessons of Kuzbass Miners Strike Spelled Out

PM0408130189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent V. Kostyukovskiy article: "Test of Perestroyka. Thoughts Elicited by Recent Events in the Kuzbass"]

[Text] Kemerovo—The strike by Kuzbass miners and then by miners almost throughout the country has done tremendous economic harm. It is difficult at present to even assess it, and this obliges us to say today that the economy and the country have been struck a heavy blow. It makes us repeat yet again that a strike is not a method for resolving problems, however acute these problems may be. And it is impossible to argue with such assessments. It is far more complex to get to the bottom of the situation, to analyze the causes and effects, to specify conclusions, and to draw correct lessons for the future.

Much is also being said about the political harm and the crisis of confidence in local party and soviet organs. I am sure that the danger in this respect is being exaggerated in the heat of the moment. Now that the intensity of thousands-strong rallies in squares is abating (are an attentive analysis and a calm view possible in a hurry?), workers are understanding a great deal in a more sober and considered manner. And there is something to evaluate here. The fact, for example, that party workers—at any rate, the majority of them—never closed their eyes to the problems of the sector and the region, which had been accumulating over the years. It is possible to recall and reread the pain and acuteness with which N. Yermakov, first secretary of Kemerovo Oblast party committee [obkom], now deceased, spoke of this at the 27th congress. His successor—V. Bakatin, now USSR minister of internal affairs—raised these same problems sharply at the 19th all-union party conference. Finally, the warning issued by A. Melnikov, the present first secretary, at the CPSU Central Committee plenum in April of this year was full of alarm: "Problems have matured to a critical level...."

What else should have been said and done to ensure that the voice of the Kuzbass was finally heard at least by the department? It is a bitter fact that a mass strike was needed for this....

Here we must return to the question: Is this or is this not the method? For not just the country but also the strikers themselves have lost out. A lot of time and funds have been spent on the deficient housing, sociocultural and domestic facilities, and bonuses. So the strike was unable to resolve the problems and only exacerbated them. But something else is perfectly clear: It proved the most effective and, perhaps, simply the only means of drawing the attention of the government, of central departments, and of the entire people to these problems. The simplistic conclusion that they should continue to "draw attention" in just this way certainly does not follow from this—this is a too costly, ruinously costly method! People resort to such a measure only in desperation. And, if we do not wish to lose touch with the people and with positions of realism, we are all obliged to understand this desperation. The way it was understood by USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who assessed the July events as the gravest test in the 4 years of perestroyka. And he drew the following important conclusion from this: "This very serious conflict, which assumed the scale of an all-union conflict, was made possible because there was no proper, timely response at the center or locally to the questions which had come to a head and burst in such an acute form."

A very serious scientific and public (it is inadmissible to farm this matter out to a department) analysis of the economic roots of what happened has to be made. Of course, the main causes lie in the economy distorted by the administrative-command system of management and by the habit of the sector's "generals" of indulging in imperious pressure and strong-arm methods. But during the days and nights of the strike I saw for myself that Coal Industry Minister Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov is by no means an "iron-souled people's commissar," as everyone, myself included, had thought. I saw him in action—a lively man, intensely feeling and agonizingly reassessing values which had taken shape long ago and proved dubious.

I cannot help recalling the former Shchadov too. What did the minister reply some 2 years ago at a miners' aktiv meeting in Prokopyevsk, when V. Yalevskiy, former chief of "Kuzbassugol," proposed the decisive reorientation of capital investments from the production to the social sphere (we now realize how timely that was)? He condescendingly reprimanded Yalevskiy: "I would understand if it were an ordinary slogger or miner saying this, but you, a prominent leader, how can you fail to understand..."

Time has shown that the minister's opponent "understood" the situation better because he was closer to the miners. And yet even quite recently, at the minister's meeting with Kuzbass deputies at the congress, when they raised questions about the independence of enterprises, the minister imperiously replied: "I will decide these questions, here...." The meeting was then taking place in his office. But it was not in his office that he had to answer but in the Mezhdurechensk square, at night, in the light of the lamps fixed to miners' helmets....

It is in this difficult, agonizing, and dramatic way that ossified departments and blinkered (not their fault but their misfortune) leaders are making the shift from

bureaucratic administration to democratization in the economy. I saw, or it would be better to say that I had the good fortune to see, the workers' awareness grow rapidly during the strike. Figuratively speaking, they raised their demands from "sausages" to radical reform literally in the space of 24-48 hours. From questions of pay, pensions, supplies, and special clothing (without forgetting all this, however) to the chief thing in the matter of reform—the rights of labor collectives and their independence. And yet, let us think about it, these are problems not just of everyday life and work but also of management and power, and so we should not avoid discussion of the correlation between economics and politics in workers' demands.

It is another matter that the miners resolutely and wisely swept aside all attempts by numerous emissaries of various groups and "parties," like the "Democratic Union," to attach themselves to their cause. They made it unambiguously clear that they were not against the party and its aims, not against Soviet power and its ideals. They were only against distortions and accretions in methods of party, soviet, and economic leadership. Incidentally, the first Mezhdurechensk strike committee set up during those days included Genrikh Bekker, secretary of the "Raspadskaya" Mine's party committee. Is this in itself not an indicator of confidence in Communists? And they entrusted USSR People's Deputy Teymuraz Avaliani, a Communist and an economic leader, with heading the obkom. It was no coincidence that the CPSU obkom bureau, which only last spring said participation in strikes was incompatible with party membership, now acknowledged that the participation of Communists in the work of strike committees was justified.

We have begun this reform in a timely manner, but we have only begun it. And life makes us get a move on and accelerate its implementation. The strike committees set up in the cities did not disband themselves when the strike ended but reorganized themselves into a quite new form—workers' committees. They have not only undertaken to monitor the fulfillment of the measures outlined jointly with the commission but also undertaken to ensure order and have elicited the people's trust. Citizens now take their troubles, requests, and suggestions to the committees and not just to the soviet executive committees [ispolkoms]. In short, a new structure of power has emerged locally, in the mining cities. To call things by their names, a kind of dyarchy has been established.

Deputy Yuriy Golik from the Kuzbass put it very accurately, I believe, at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. "The workers," he said, "have proved an old thesis: Power is not given but taken, and they went out and took power into their hands." But the question is: From whom? Vladimir Dyachenko, deputy chairman of Novokuznetsk strike committee and a worker at the "Abashevskaya" Mine, answered it for me: "We take power not from the soviets but from those who once usurped it, from bureaucrats... But even this is still not power. It will be real and legitimate when we hand it over to the soviets, only not to the present ones but to those which we will elect."

So, on the one hand, any dyarchy can only be temporary. On the other, the strike committees do not intend to cede power to the local soviets elected under an obsolete law (which of us remembers for whom he voted?), and many have not justified the trust and hopes. This was the basis of the decision adopted by a group of USSR people's deputies from the Kuzbass, which traveled to Prokopyevsk, jointly with the oblast strike committee: to propose to the oblast soviet executive committee resolving in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium the question of holding early local soviet elections in Kemerovo Oblast. To prepare and publish for discussion a statute on a new election procedure (there is still no new Russian law) providing for a reduction in the corps of deputies, multiple-choice elections, and the formation of production and territorial okrugs. But this document, signed for the committee by T. Avaliani and for the deputies by V. Romanov, did not see light in the oblast press. Why? Let us try to find the answer to this question.

Party Obkom First Secretary A. Melnikov told the strikers in one of the cities: "If the work of your ispolkom does not please you, still less can it please us." Nevertheless, the obkom bureau declared the decision of the group of deputies and the committee "hasty," supposedly because people's mistrust of individual leaders still does not mean their mistrust of all soviets. But who is arguing with this? Moreover, certain leaders these days have merited the workers' special respect—V. Mikhaylov, chairman of Kemerovo City Soviet Executive Committee, for example, who worked day and night with the strike committee. I do not think that people can show mistrust of him during the new elections. But will the ispolkom be able to prepare a modern, democratic election statute in a short time? Will it not be at variance with the future Russian law? Will the new power be real locally, that is, economically solvent? These are questions requiring speedy and unequivocal answers.

Nevertheless, the real economic changes which are soon to take place in the Kuzbass (it is planned, for example, to prepare proposals to transfer Kemerovo Oblast to regional economic accountability as of 1 January next year) undoubtedly need attendant changes of a political order. We know from experience that without this the economic reform "will not work" either in the country or in the region. It was no coincidence that the USSR Supreme Soviet supported the idea of bringing such elections nearer in its Appeal to the Soviet People.

However, those who readily picked up the thesis of "haste" in the upcoming elections are concerned about questions of not such a high order. Many of them simply realize that in the course of such an election campaign they will lose "their seats." I am not inclined to use irony

in this regard, for it is a question of smashing the destinies of people who are in no way the prime cause of social and economic ills. If their work was not efficient, this was frequently only because of the paucity of opportunities. Nevertheless, they will need considerable personal courage to depart and give way to others, if necessary (read, if voters manifest their will). Courage such as that shown in our long and difficult conversation by USSR People's Deputy Vasiliy Ivanovich Romanov, chairman of the oblast trade union council.

"The strike," he said, "showed the trade unions' insolvency as defenders of the interests of the working class. Yes, we sided with the strikers, helped them to organize order, arranged hot food, took on many expenses... And yet I am still dogged by the thought that the strike committees essentially fulfilled the role of trade union committees."

My interlocutor pondered and then continued firmly:

"I intend to propose to the oblast trade union council presidium holding early elections to trade union organs at all levels on a new, multiple-choice basis. I myself have decided not to put forward my candidacy. If others propose it, I will not refuse to run in the contest...."

On attentively analyzing the striking miners' demands, you reach the conclusion that they are along the lines of perestroyka and were dictated by a sense of dignity, by concern for the country, and by proprietorial responsibility for its destiny. And yet cautious hints have appeared even in the press that the present working class is ceasing to be a revolutionary force. And it has been stated even more frankly in private conversations that the class has lagged behind, become degraded, and taken to drink. You would really have to have a condescending view of workers to say this....

But the country's miners, followed by workers in other sectors displaying solidarity, at once disproved all fears and fabrications. No, not through the strike itself but precisely through the nature of their demands and the weightiness of their words. I believe that leaders, scientists, and journalists could go on discussing for a long time with the minister of the coal industry the need to grant independence to mines and open-cut pits. The workers did not argue for long. The formulation of the principles of Kuzbass economic accountability probably could have dragged on for years and years, but the miners, metallurgical workers, and chemical industry workers forced the pace. By displaying strength, organization, and class solidarity, instilling truly revolutionary order in the cities and in their own ranks, and ensuring a special, as yet unprecedented level of control over the fulfillment of their demands, the miners summed up the chief result of the July events. Unknown people who had not been noticed before "suddenly" appeared and have now struck us with the level of their thinking and education. And at the same time (which, incidentally, is a pity) many "staff" frontrunners, whose portraits used to fill newspaper pages, have gotten lost somewhere and fallen by the wayside. New people have come, ready to assume responsibility for the fate of perestroyka. Ready and able. How important it is that they should not melt away in space and time but join new party committees, new soviets, new trade union committees, new labor collective councils. The times themselves seem to have advanced them to do the difficult work of renewal.

Lithuanian Sajudis To Urge Constitution Changes

LD2108134789 Hamburg DPA in German 1306 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Vilnius (DPA)—The Lithuanian pro-perestroyka movement Sajudis intends to submit a motion in the autumn to the USSR Supreme Soviet suggesting that the leading role of the Communist Party should be deleted from the Soviet Constitution. The Sajudis leadership member and People's Deputy Romualdas Osolas stated this today to the German Press Agency in Vilnius. Up to now, the Communist Party has been established in Article 6 of the Constitution as "the leading and guiding force of Soviet society."

According to Osolas, there are already a number of political parties in existence in Lithuania even if they are not officially registered. Among them are a social democratic, a democratic, and a humanist party.

Immediately before the 50th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the Sajudis had called on the republic's Communist Party to "adopt a clear position" on Lithuania's independence, Osolas reported further. "Only when we fence each other off from each other will we be able to continue cooperation in a friendly manner," Osolas said. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Party, Sajudis Officials on Elections

LD2108121289 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting between the leaders of the Lithuanian Government and the Communist Party and the Lithuanian Reform Movement, Sajudis, took place today [19 August] at the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Participating in the meeting were the first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Algirdas Brazauskas; its second secretary, Vladimir Berezov; Secretary for Ideology Valerijonas Baltrunas [name and title as heard]; and the prime minister of Lithuania, Vitautas Sakalauskas. Fourteen members of the Seimas of the Sajudis movement were also present. Among them Vitautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Seimas of the Lithuanian Reform Movement Sajudis, Romualdas Ozolas, Zigmas Vaisvila, and others. Here is what Virgilius Cepaitis, one of the Sajudis leaders, said after the meeting:

[Announcer-read report] Such meetings usually take place every 2 months. Opinions were exchanged about the present political and social situation in Lithuania

and the Soviet Union. Afterwards the participants discussed the elections to the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania. According to the Sajudis movement the elections should be held at the end of this year already with elections to the local soviets following suit. However, the Lithuanian leadership seems to have a different opinion on the issue—(?this is) to hold elections to the local Soviets this year and elections to the Lithuanian parliament in the spring of 1990. There was an interesting suggestion put forward at the meeting to hold joint meetings on the key issues of Lithuania's public and political life. For instance, one of such meetings could discuss Lithuania's independence and ways of reaching it. The forthcoming action, the Baltic wave, which is to take place on 23 August, was also discussed. The Lithuanian leadership was invited to take part in the mass meeting on 22 August. That is on the very eve of the 50th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. The Lithuanian Independence Union is holding a mass meeting to mark the great occasion on 23 August. Afterwards, at 7 pm, everybody is going to join hands in the human chain connecting Vilnius, Riga, Tallinn, the capitals of the three Baltic states that were annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940.

Lithuanian Commission Deems 1939 Pact Invalid
LD2108122889 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] A parliamentary commission of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet on the 1939 Soviet-Nazi Pact and its consequences to Lithuania ended its work yesterday. According to Romualdas Ozolas, member of the commission, the final text worked out by the commission will be adopted at the forthcoming session of the Lithuanian Parliament. The conclusions are precise and fundamental. The parliamentary commission has decided that the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact violated the international law of 1939 and thus is invalid from the moment of its signing. Consequently the annexation and occupation of the independent Lithuanian state that followed in 1940, the elections to the Lithuanian Parliament in July 1940, and the incorporation of Lithuania to the Soviet Union are unlawful as well. However, the final word rests with the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania which starts its session on 5 September.

Lithuanian Tatars Establish Association
LD0708131889 Vilnius KOMJAUNIMO TIESA in Lithuanian 26 Apr 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Mensaidas Bairasevskis, chairman of the Lithuanian Tatar Cultural Rebirth Association Council and member of the Sajudis Seimas: "Painful Truth and Ensuing Lie"]

[Excerpts] Today we recall with a smile our last year's 18 September initiative meeting at the summer home of activist Emiras Krinickis. Lithuanian Tatars are a quiet, careful, and quick-witted nationality. At first, only a few replied to the invitation to come to Vilnius. It was attended by some representatives from Kaunas, Alytus Rayon, 40 Tatars Village, and Nemezys area, near Vilnius, several residents of the republic's capital, and some guests from Gardinas. Gerimantas Tarvydas, first deputy chief, Lithuanian Culture Fund also attended. The initiative meeting was lively, with constructive and interesting speeches. It was voted unanimously to set up a Lithuanian Tatars' Culture Support Group, under the Lithuanian Culture Fund; its council was elected and statutes were adopted to establish the group's tasks and goals and also to make appeals to its countrymen.

Yes, there were not that many people in attendance, then. However, the news that the group's council was seeking to revive, at any cost, the perishing Lithuanian Tatar culture, and to unite the nation in search of great and noble goals, spread throughout the republic and reached Lithuanian Tatars and those of West Belorussia and Poland.

I remember the regional group initiative meeting in Alytus Rayon. The rayon communications section hall, where the meeting took place, was full of people. People complained about lost traditions, customs, and rites; and also talked of the necessity of uniting, first of all, for the sake of the future of their young people, since mixed marriages had increased. This unique, ethnographic nation which had existed in Lithuania for 6 centuries began to disappear during the Stalinism and stagnation eras. Many of those who were frightened by the liquidation of the Crimean Tatars departed abroad. Some of Lithuania's Tatars were labeled as kulaks and deported to Siberia, others left the land of their forefathers and melted into large cities.

I can not fail to mention the numerous meetings in Kaunas and also the Vilnius region initiative meeting, held at the republic trade union building. This was a genuine victory, the start of our nation's rebirth.

People started to become angry: Why are we known as a support group for Lithuania's tatar culture? We are—an association, that has come about in order to revive our culture. Thus, our name was changed. We became the Lithuanian Tatar Cultural Rebirth Association, under the Lithuanian Culture Fund.

Many problems arose during the past half of the century. People's historical and cultural monuments and the muslim mosques of—40 Tatars' Village, Nemezys residential area, Alytus Rayon, Punia region, and Raiziai Village have nearly totally disintegrated. They are seriously threatened because a 100 years ago or more, they were constructed from wood. Together with Alytus City Committee First Secretary Sergejus Raybakovas, we came across a mumberis (a muslim pulpit, built on 14 Aug 1686), by a national craftsman. We held in our hands tafsirs (Koran interpretations), several hundred years old. All this is facing total destruction.

I counted twelve muslim cemeteries in Raiziai Village, which is considered somewhat of a Lithuanian Tatars' Mecca. Three of them are still in use: two in Raiziai and one in Bazorai. To date, families from Vilnius, Kaunas, and even Klaipeda bring their dear ones for burial here. By the way, at some point Bazorai Village had a mosque that had been built in 1558. It was destroyed by lightning. Grave stones in the other nine cemeteries have over the ages sunk into the ground, cracked from the sun and worn ground down by winds.

Do you think the nation has forgotten its history? You are wrong.

Legends and actual historical events have been passed down from generation to generation; these included their appearance on the scene as loyal and powerful allies of Vytautas the Great, their participation in the Battle of Grunwald, the Livonian War, and battles against King Carl XII of Sweden. Lithuanian Tatars have always stood shoulder to shoulder with Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, and Belorussians. Lithuanian soil has been generously drenched with Tatar blood and sweat. It is not our fault, but our misfortune, that our history has been hushed up for almost half a century.

Recently, I visited the Ivje Rayon center in the Gardinas region. Even today, there are 200 hundred homes located on the outskirts of the little town, inhabited by Tatars. These are the descendants of soldiers in the former Tatar units. They were settled here by Vytautas the Great. They are also Lithuanian Tatars, our blood brothers. Many of them, in spite of their heavy accent, attempted to converse with me in Lithuanian. I saw "The Collected Works of Zemaite" [Lithuanian author] in Lithuanian on the bookshelf at a house where I spent the night. [passage omitted]

The Vilnius association does not as yet have its own facilities, not even a little room. We meet wherever we can. [passage omitted]

At the council meeting we had to discuss how Tatars could contribute to this ethnographic and historical village's [40 Tatar's Village] rebirth; a plan was prepared by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee on orders of Stanislovas Giedraitis, secretary fo the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. We were amazed to see over 100 guests from Trakai, Alytus, and other republic cities and rayons assembled at the meeting.

The people reminded us at the meeting that Tatars have no other fatherland, that Lithuania is their fatherland, the land which must be loved. Pensioner Maria Radkevic demanded that a memorial bust of Vytautas the Great be erected at the village center. [passage omitted]

Who are we and how many of us are there? No one can answer this question currently. The association has begun a social listing of Lithuanian Tatars. It is to be completed at the beginning of May. In this list we try to compile not only information about present day Tatars, but also at least about a small number of their forbears. Lithuanian Tatars have a rich genealogy, after all, and every family has its own coat of arms that had originated in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

What do residents of Lithuania know about us? Almost nothing. [passage omitted]

Journalists and news photographers have begun to visit Raidziai Village in Alytus more frequently. Imam Danielius Makulavicius recalled an occasion when one of the photo newsmen requested he be shown a flock of sheep herded by a Tatar shepherd.

The imam expressed his surprise.

—Why sheep, in particular?

—Because you must like mutton, since that is your national dish.

—I know some Tatars who don't eat meat at all,— replied the Imam. Many of the individual farms don't even raise sheep. Tatars have always been fierce warriors and they did not fight astride sheep. The animal most loved by Lithuanian Tatars always was and continues to be a horse.

I did not recount this humorous and sad story to insult the photo newsman. Alas, he is not alone. You can not imagine how many letters we receive now; they are nice, sensitive, and full of concern. There are not many areas inhabited by Tatars left in Lithuania. We hear from far away places, currently inhabited solely by Lithuanians; places where at some point in time stood mosques and where there still are cemeteries, or there were some formerly. Upon my return from Alytus, I happened to glance at the 2 March copy of KOMJAUNIMO TIESA.

My eyes came to rest on an initially incomprehensinle headline: "Whose Side Are You On, Culture Centers?" I read what happened to be a declaration by the republic Coordinating Council of the Social Movement For Restructuring in Lithuania, "Vienybe-Yedinstvo-Yednosc." I read it and was astounded by its venom, lack of culture, and insulting and sordid lies.

In the statement, "Vienybe" idealogues, or maybe warriors write: "We address those individuals who founded national ethnic minority culture centers which are under the patronage of the Lithuanian Culture Fund and finances. The earlier stated lack of political awareness, seeking to satisfy cultural needs of national minorities, has now revealed itself as fiction. Cultural centers, inspired by Sajudis leaders, are maligning socialist values, and attempt to undermine the principles of a multinational state federated system while they hide under the slogan against "strong center."

Even in times of pluralism, I do not intend to polemicize with lies. I will say one thing: To date the Lithuanian Culture Fund has not spent one kopek on Tatars' needs, nor did we receive any material support from Sajudis and other social and state organizations. We exist solely on the support of Lithuanian Tatars. Our expenses are also very modest. We have increased the number of registration forms addressed to Lithuanian Tatars. [passage omitted]

I will express myself frankly concerning our relations with Sajudis. We hear at almost every Lithuanian Tatar meeting: Sajudis awakened the Tatar national consciousness in us, it has spurred us on to revive our almost extinguished national culture, it has made us proud, once again, and prompts us to treasure our ancestry. Yes, two of our representatives were delegates at the Sajudis iniatitive meeting and one of us represents the association in the Seimas. This does not mean, however, that we always support unconditionally the Seimas Council decisions.

We agree to march along with all who are concerned with social restructuring. We are categorically opposed to disunity.

I recall how willingly I attended the Russian Drama State Theater. I was invited to the initiative Russian Cultural Center meeting. Yes, Russian culture is, as dear to me as the culture of any other nation. I had planned to express my views. What happened? No one was able to express any reasonable thoughts because of the whistles of future "Vienybe's" organizers from the "galiorka," [upstairs area]. This happened while Lithuanian people's artist A. Inozemcevas was speaking. I waved it aside and left after the second intermission. You ask however: "Whose Side Are You On, Culture Centers?"

Latvia's Presidium Chairman Interviewed

18001516 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Jul 89 p 1

[Report on LATINFORM interview with Anatoliy Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, by P. Tabuns: "A. Gorbunov: I Hope That the Laws Will Be Passed"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text]Latvian radio journalist P. Tabuns telephoned the chairman of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Gorbunov, who, as is known, is undergoing treatment in Moscow. The public in the republic is interested in knowing about the president's state of health and is expressing some concern that he will be unable to attend the upcoming Supreme Soviet session and lead the work of the Supreme Soviet, which is to make decisions important for the republic. What is A. Gorbunov's attitude in this regard? I hope, he emphasized in the conversation that took place, that the laws will be passed. We publish below the text of the telephone interview, prepared for the press by the LATINFORM agency.

[Tabuns] Good day. It is very pleasing to hear you and to have the opportunity to talk about what is worrying all people in the republic. How do you feel?

[Gorbunov] Good day. I am in the central clinical hospital. I must say that the doctors and nurses here are looking after me with Russian kindness. It is the first time in my life that I have been in hospital and so the first week was very difficult. But now I feel fine. But the doctors say that I still need rehabilitation. So I shall be here until 31 July. After that they are also recommending 2 weeks in a sanatorium here in the Moscow area. And then I will be able to go back to work.

[Tabuns] It is pleasing to hear your cheerful voice. You are probably aware that social processes are continuing actively in the republic and political life is developing. Almost no time is left before the session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet. In their letters our readers are asking: What will happen without Gorbunov at the session? You there in the hospital are probably thinking about the session. The agenda is very important.

[Gorbunov] True. It is a great pity that I will be unable to take part in the work of the session. In recent days I have been familiarizing myself with the main materials. Many questions will be considered. Let me talk about some of them. In my opinion,the draft law prepared on the republic's sovereignty is in fact not just some general declaration. A paragraph about this is written into the constitution, and, in my opinion, very successfully. It is exactly the same with the question of ownership in the republic—of land, water, the continental shelf, and other resources. This, in my view, has also been well formulated in the constitution.

Legal sovereignty, ratification of the USSR Constitution and the changes to it, and the laws of the Latvian SSR in this connection. This appears to have been well written in the draft. Of course, the deputies still have to consider these questions and study them. And even though they are very important questions they are not causing me any special concern. Moscow is awaiting our law on economic sovereignty. I hope that it will be passed. Perhaps the deputies may still make some amendments, but in my opinion, in general the draft is not bad. Of course, I would very much like some laws to be passed in the field of ecology. I would like that when considering ecological issues we not only talk about a catastrophic situation at the most sensitive points, but also adopt laws. At least ban the railroad transport of toxic materials through Riga to Ventspils and take other important steps. I think that these decisions and laws should should not be prolix but extremely specific. This is what the people in our republic expect.

Speaking candidly, I am concerned about the Law on Elections, this worries me most of all. I personally am not satisfied with the draft. I am not talking about the elections to the local soviets but the elections for the republic people's deputies. The draft was prepared

before the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow. At the congress we all sensed its weak points. Can we not learn the lessons to be drawn from the elections of the USSR people's deputies? An absolute majority of the republics are now rejecting the idea of a congress, with the exception, probably, of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic and evidently the Ukraine. In any event, this follows from the information that I have tried to gather together here. And no matter what, we want to have both a congress and a Supreme Soviet. In this case we are virtually rejecting direct elections, which the USSR people's deputies themselves criticized very sharply. Our comrades evidently hope that they will succeed at the congress in electing a very good Supreme Soviet. But the congress in Moscow showed that in this case, it was not possible to choose the best of the alternative candidates to the Supreme Soviet. Remember: While wanting the best, it was precisely with the alternative candidates that the Muscovites suffered defeats. It was precisely the most active who failed to win a majority, and some of the best known were crossed off. And unfortunately, there is no other system. One that operates without a majority. I think that the question of the makeup of the Supreme Soviet should be resolved by all the inhabitants of the republic by direct elections. Bearing in mind our own makeup, we see that in Moscow about 70 percent of deputies are full time, and that the organ of highest state power was able to operate actively through direct voting with this makeup.

[Tabuns] Well, you know, not everything is yet clear and the debate continues on whether or not the elections of republic people's deputies or of the deputies for local soviets will come first.

[Gorbunov] Of course, all issues must be discussed. But in this case, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium I could not say to the deputies present at this convocation: Comrades, we are dismissing you early. Then we would have to argue about why this was being done. One way or another we were elected long since, and we are moving into a period of stagnation. But nevertheless, the majority of deputies are working actively. I think that the inhabitants of the republic have already felt the effect of the laws that we have passed. It can in no way be said that the present Supreme Soviet is inactive and that new elections should therefore be held. In any event, I have no arguments for this.

[Tabuns] I am afraid of burdening you with too many questions even though there are many of them. You will no doubt be experiencing special feelings on Thursday [27 July] when the Supreme Soviet session opens. We would have liked to have you at the session, in the presidium, leading the session, but....

[Gorbunov] Yes, unfortunately I will not be able to participate. The question of leadership at the session will be resolved by the deputies. But if my honorable colleagues want to know my opinion, then I would recommend that Yan Vagris, our Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary chair the session. This is perhaps a subjective attitude but let me try to explain its motivation. It seems to me that our views coincide on the fundamental issues to be resolved.

I would like to end with some comments on the Election Law. It seems to me that my colleagues are correct in introducing the law for its first reading at the session. This is a very widespread practice in parliamentary practice. After its first reading the deputies will express their opinions and all of us together, and together with the inhabitants of the republic, will once again discuss how the law should be. The more so since Moscow has officially stated that all of this falls within the competence of the republic. It was as a result of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies that appropriate changes are being made to the USSR Constitution. I would therefore like us to make really well-considered decisions and be proud of our own election law.

[Tabuns] Thank you, Comrade Gorbunov. I wish you a speedy recovery and return to us in Riga.

[Gorbunov] My heartfelt thanks to you and to all in Latvia.

Riga Leaders Cited on Political Situation

PM0708111189 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Jul 89 p 1

[Correspondent V. Proskura report citing extracts from report by A. Rubiks, chairman of the Riga City Soviet Executive Committee, and speech by A. Klautsen, first secretary of the Riga City Party Committee, under the rubric "At the Crossroads of Political Struggle": "The Riga Option"]

[Text] Riga—Strictly speaking the Latvian Communist Party Riga City Party Committee [Gorkom] Plenum was discussing a socioeconomic question this time—the question of the preparations for the transition of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] to self-management and self-financing as of 1 January next year. However, this discussion naturally developed into a discussion of the political situation in which the concept of regional economic independence is to implemented. Participants in the plenum stressed that the move to territorial economic accountability is increasingly becoming a struggle for the "hearts and minds" of the population and, correspondingly, for voters' votes at future elections to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets.

I cite extracts from a report by A. Rubiks, chairman of the Riga City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom], and a speech by A. Klautsen, first secretary of the city party committee [gorkom], which are most revealing in their description of the current social clashes.

Incidentally they are both USSR people's deputies. They obtained their seats during tense rivalry. The truth emerges in disputes—that is what A. Rubiks and A. Klautsen believe. They will never miss an opportunity to take part in principled disputes—verbal and written—with their quick-tempered opponents whatever position the latter may hold in the "table of ranks" here. The main subject of these discussions with the "hardline opposition" is clear from the opinions set out here.

A. Rubiks:

I think you will all agree with me when I say that we have already permitted many hasty decisions, which led in a number of cases to destabilization, discomfort, and lack of social security for some of the population instead of stabilizing the situation and creating conditions for all residents necessary for the sake of democracy. (Certain republic statutes affecting the civil rights of newly-arrived working people, in particular, the so-called "foreign language immigrants" are referred to here—V.P.).

Many party organizations have failed to restructure themselves.... This, in my opinion, is one condition behind the emergence of a host of informal sociopolitical organizations, which aspire not only to an active role in society but which are also—at first covertly and now quite blatantly—waging a struggle for political power and striving to create an alternative to the communist party and the soviets.

Thus, we have an extremely complex political situation, which is continuing to intensify since none of the aforementioned organizations have abandoned their aims.... On the contrary they are gradually seeking to adopt their planned solutions, exerting pressure on people's deputies of all ranks and issuing ultimatums. Take, for instance, the demand put forward by the Latvian People's Front Council.... Alternative organizations have gone as far as openly creating a new form of local self-management—citizens' committees.... With a view to implementing the kind of census that establishes who will and will not be a citizen of Latvia. Note: Latvia rather than the Latvian SSR. (The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has already deemed this "civil action" illegal.—V.P.).

If we consider that the republic's state television and radio and many newspapers and journals are under Latvian People's Front influence, a panorama of the sociopolitical state of a society and labor collectives, where we must carry out the work of perestroyka, emerges before us.

A. Klautsen:

Our comrades are now trying to reassure public opinion by saying that nothing dreadful has happened. Just think, the Latvian People's Front Council has adopted its latest document—have many such documents borne fruit recently? But at the same time active work is under way among People's Front supporters and the republic's population to propagandize the ideas of Latvian development outside the USSR state system.

Every union republic has this constitutional right. But in our case views are being imposed on people regarding...the replacement of the existing system. There must be no compromise here!

Everyone is aware that a number of party organizations have seriously raised the question of the need to hold an extraordinary Latvian Communist Party congress.... While assessing the current situation, it is necessary to have a clear idea as to why the idea of convening a congress has arisen. First, because of a lack of a clear work program on the part of the republic's party organizations in the new sociopolitical conditions and because of demarcation in primary, rayon, and city organizations.... Second, some people who support the idea of convening a congress reckon that it will prove possible to elaborate a "new political line" there and make corresponding cadre changes to the republic's Central Committee.

We believe that we can discuss the problems which have arisen in a comprehensive fashion at an enlarged Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum and adopt a program regarding the activity of the republic's party organization under present-day conditions. The republic's Communists must have more independence in self-management affairs.... But, I believe that we must proceed from the premise that a federal structure does not suit us (the party). The Latvian Communist Party must be a component part of the CPSU.

Estonian Nationality Relations Discussed

LD0308115989 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1100 GMT 19 Jul 89

["Antenna" program; discussion program on nationality affairs with Mikk Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; Priit Jarve, director of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law; Peeter Sookruss, deputy head of the ideology department of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; and Mart Siiman, editor of the "Antenna" program]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Good day. The subject of today's program is nationality relations. We will recall the draft platform of the Estonian Communist Party Central Commitee published in June for the Moscow plenum on nationality relations; we will talk about the current state of affairs; and we will answer your questions on the subject.

Present in the studio are Mikk Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; Priit Jarve, director of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law; Peeter Sookruss, deputy head of the ideology department at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; and Mart Siimann, editor of the program. [passage omitted]

[Sookruus] Evidently we need to acknowledge on the whole the fact that perestroyka within an ethnic republic—whether you want it or not—has also been connected with, let us say, the ethnic-liberating or ethnic-democratic movement. The general democratic movement developing within the union takes on a specific ethnic coloring in an ethnic republic, too. And all those mistakes which have been made over decades—wrong nationality policy, and of course there were economic causes, and so on—those take on quite a different hue. I will be bold here and present a little comparison.

If over the past few days one has watched central television, watched the "Vremya" program, how much in detail and how benignly, in what an understanding and sympathizing way those big strikes which at the moment are rolling across the Soviet Union are presented, in the Kuzbass and in Donbass. And if one recalls the way in which strikes in the ethnic republics have been presented, immediately the question arises that again several things are confused. If a strike is called somewhere in an ethnic republic, then first and foremost a danger is seen in its ethnic direction. But if workers are striking with economic and clearly also political demands elsewhere, that is, somewhere within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] or the Ukraine, then the approach is not one of ethnic labeling and things are viewed differently, even if the cause is the same—the cause lies with economic mistakes and with wrong policies having been established, the mixing up of ethnic and class priorities—but the phenomenon is again seen slightly differently.

So, there is strangely a mish-mash in the all-union press and it makes one wonder how the central press—I mean PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA—are now in fact sympathizing with those miners, with those on strike, and ask why is it that their demands have not been met. And jointly, at whom do they rail? They rail at the ministries which have been but the tools of this policy and not the ones who invented it. They are just the ones to implement it and become its tools. So, there are very many such strange causes here which are mutually entwined.

[Siimann] Listener Rein Pool has phoned us and he claims that ethnic relations within the union of states hold second place after the economy. Is it possible in our country to settle ethnic relations at all? Ethnic relations have indeed been deliberately and purposefully mixed up.

[Titma] One can definitely see that that has been done deliberately. For example, one does not need to be a great scientist in order to see that after World War II the European socialist countries and the borders between them were run in such a way that each would have an ethnic issue with another. It was done deliberately in that way. One can guess that roughly the same kind of policy was also observed when borders were fixed in Central Asia, because there the borders are mixed up with the true ethnic border as much as possible. And in other areas such policy was definitely conducted through economic means so as to achieve maximum swift integration.

Now, if one assumes that this makes it impossible to settle ethnic relations, then one cannot speak quite so uniformly. Ethnic relations in Europe, from the classical point of view, were settled by means of ethnic states.

In Africa, ethnic borders at the moment are completely mixed up and those states do not in any way correspond to ethnic borders. In Asia, one cannot match any ethnic borders with state borders either. Now, it would be possible to imagine the settlement of this issue in our country in the way of such classical ethnical states which came about after World War I in Europe. Another possibility is that one could regulate these relations within the framework of a big union of states, on the basis of the nationalities' right to self-determination. It seems that in many cases this second possibility will go into action because it simply is impossible to apply the first possibility. A great part of very big nations is indeed located within another nationality, figuratively speaking. [passage omitted]

[Jarve] And I could even say that here, as the data of the information center of the republican mass media demonstrate, that in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, to be specific, the number one question to be resolved at the present moment is the nationality question. And probably, the solving of this question would also enable an improvement in the way the economy is functioning, would improve democratization, and all other questions. [passage omitted]

[Siimann] Another listener asked a question about bringing to responsibility the authors of the leaflets which have been distributed.

[Titma] This is a complex question. In some cases we have seen that the Prosecutor's Office has tried to act. As a rule, such extreme behavior—if one views now the policy of the republican leadership—has not met with such an approach by us because we understand that punishment of any kind, as a rule, will aggravate matters. I believe that our society has developed to such a degree that we can take a calm look at those matters and that they will not lead our society beyond the natural, stable state. [passage omitted]

[Siimann] Another question from a listener: In what respect does the position of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee on the issue of the peoples' right to self-determination differ from the views of other public movements such as the People's Front, ERSP [Estonian National Independence Party], and Inter-Movement? And another question related to this: Why is the registration of committees of citizens of the Republic of Estonia being kept secret?

[Titma] Well, I dont think it is secret. Quite a lot has been talked and written about this.

[Siimann] We have talked about it on radio programs, too.

[Titma] Yes. But in what respect is there a difference? I would say it like this: The difference is in principle. At present, the executive power in Estonia is the Communist Party of Estonia. While executing power, it also at present bears responsibility for the Estonian people. Now, while bearing this responsibility, each step must be very well discussed. One could not set up slogans whose results could have negative or deep-running consequences. We must proceed with balance, envisaging possible success as well as possible defeat. And this path at present has been followed by the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee and the republican leadership. In that respect, perhaps, our stand differs from that of other movements as they may in many respects set theses and moves which do not bring immediate quick political consequences, even if the very fact of setting them brings consequences. [passage omitted]

Estonian Ecologist Discusses Pollution Threat

PM0308104089 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 29 Jul 89 p 3

[Juhan Aare, Estonian Supreme Soviet Environment Committee member, "Focus" article: "Estonia's Environmental Damage Also Threatens Sweden"]

[Text] For a long time visitors to Estonia were given a one-sided picture of developments in our country. Brochures and other printed material for tourists bristled with figures designed to show that industry and agriculture have moved forward by leaps and bounds since the war.

What did not fit in with this beautiful picture was simply left out. In reality a hitherto unknown degree of environmental damage followed in the wake of the major increase in production. Expensive picture books for visitors praise hog and livestock factory farms. But they should have added what damage has been done to ground water and surface soil by these multistory prisons for domestic animals.

For decades all economic life in our republic has been subordinated to his majesty GNP. Everywhere in Estonia you can see the traces of this. In the bay off the well known health resort of Parnu—where many Swedish tourists travelled for beach holidays between the wars—coli bacteria levels amount in places to 5,000 times the permitted levels. Nor is it advisable to bathe at another resort with several hundred years of tradition behind it—Haapsalu, where Petr Tchaikovskiy spent several summers—because the town and its factories discharge all their waste water more or less untreated into the Baltic. I could go on at length describing the beaches along Estonia's coastline where the bathing water no longer does good but threatens people's lives.

The health of fish and seals in our waters is also a cause for concern. A recent report shows that 80 percent of seals in our coastal waters are no longer able to reproduce. Researchers have found that their skeletons have softened and that their pelts, formerly so valuable, have lost their economic value, because the hairs simply fall out of the skins. Fishermen are catching growing numbers of pike with skin cancer. In the coastal seas between the mainland and the major islands of Hiiumaa and Saaremaa catches of eel and other fish sensitive to pollution are today only one-tenth of what they were before the war.

What lies behind all this? All the chemical fertilizers which are carried out to sea by Estonia's rivers, all the various oils and fats from fish factories, increased radioactivity in places from certain human activities, and so on.

Every summer increasing numbers of girls and boys in Estonia cannot enjoy the pleasures that were taken for granted when we were children—bathing and playing on the beaches, drinking fresh spring water, and breathing clean air. Every year the water in more and more wells becomes useless not only for drinking but also for washing in. On several occasions I myself have seen and filmed the inhabitants of the little town of Tapa drawing a bucket of water from their well and setting light to it. Perhaps some of my readers saw these upsetting pictures in Swedish TV1's evening of programs entirely devoted to Estonia last fall.

If environmental damage has advanced along our western coast it is even further advanced along sections of our northern coast. In the capital of Tallinn the Green Movement has long been demanding the closure of a unusually polluted paper and cellulose factory. In Maardu just east of the capital the extraction of phosphorite has meant that researchers have been able to identify health problems among children; they are twice as prone as children in a control group to diseases of the upper respiratory tract, three to four times as prone to asthmatic and chronic bronchitis, and ten times as prone to rickets, the pathological decalcification of the skeleton, and so on.

Instead of halting the extraction of phosphorite at Maardu—which it a danger to health and also economically unprofitable for Estonia—the responsible ministry in Moscow wants to sharply increase production. They want to dig out an area approximately 200 times bigger than that in Maardu—and, according to our most prominent researchers, this would lead to a situation in which ground water levels would fall drastically; some of the waste products would spontaneously combust on contact with the oxygen in the atmosphere, become water-soluble, and pollute soil and water with radioactivity; the water in all the rivers of northern and western Estonia would become undrinkable for people and animals, paralyze agriculture, and pollute the waters of the areas of the Baltic closest to the Estonian coast.

In Narva, which most Swedes remember from their history lessons, two gigantic oil-shale-fired power stations emit large quantities of poisonous sulfur dioxide. According to Swedish friends of the Earth, the emissions from these two power plants of 386,000 tonnes of sulfur dioxide every year are considerably more than the emissions from all of Sweden's factories, refineries, and treatment plants—totalling around 250,000 tonnes. These power plants also produce an annual total of 11 million tonnes of ash, which contains uranium, strontium, and other radioactive substances, and mercury and other heavy metals.

Nevertheless, the Moscow ministry responsible now wants to build a third power station which would be about twice the size of the two existing power stations together. Emissions from these three would help to further increase the acidity of the atmosphere also in neighboring countries, such as Finland and Sweden, which already get a large part of their atmospheric pollution from us.

Further, our small fields and plains are being destroyed by gigantic agricultural machines which were produced for the needs of the enormous Russian and Ukrainian steppes. Our most prominent experts in this field have warned repeatedly that heavy tractors mean death for our land. They compress and destroy the surface soil's fine structure, so that neither rain water nor earthworms can move through it. If we are also forced to continue with the use of artificial fertilizers on the present scale for another 10 or 20 years our land could lose its last ounce of fertility. Our researchers are well aware of all these problems, but the planned Soviet economy has been so firmly controlled from the center that we have been unable to prevent the destruction of our land, our water, and our air.

We can find similar environmental destruction in the majority of the Soviet Union's republics. The all-union authorities' indifference and nonchalance toward land and sea, air and water have become well known. If we are to succeed in preventing the present environmental crisis on our side of the Baltic from becoming an environmental catastrophe which will also affect you in Sweden and the rest of the Nordic area we must jointly seek solutions to these problems.

During several visits to Sweden in the last year I have been impressed by Swedish environmental technology and the concern to help us to save our own—and indirectly your own—environment. That is why it would be most valuable if it were possible to achieve cooperation in environmental protection and in other fields. It is not my place to interfere in internal Swedish affairs, but it probably would be in Sweden's interest to help reduce environmental destruction on our side of the Baltic. It would be useful if the Baltic environment ministers could be invited to Sweden to discuss concrete cooperation projects.

I cannot imagine a better gift of friendship from the Swedish people than if Environment Minister Birgitta Dahl were to accompany Foreign Minister Sten Andersson to Estonia later this year and bring with her firm promises of Swedish treatment plants for the old Swedish-speaking areas on Estonia's west coast, for example, or favorable environmental credits. That would be a worthy symbol of Nordic solidarity and a sign of that fact that the Swedes, too, have realized that we all depend on each other in the work to save the Baltic, our shared landlocked sea. It would also be valuable if Sweden were to stress on a suitable occasion that a third and environmentally massively damaging power plant at Narva and phosphorite extraction in large areas of Estonia are difficult to square with the Soviet Union's international undertakings in the environmental field. The environment-minded and increasingly progressive groups in the Soviet Union need moral support from Sweden, too, now that we are to start building our common European home.

But more treatment plants in Estonia, for example, and harsher punishments for environmental criminals are not enough. The Moscow-controlled planned economy must be replaced by more economic self-government for the various republics. Estonia and other republics must acquire the sovereignty to determine themselves the use of their natural resources, so that it becomes possible to guarantee that economic development takes place in greater harmony with nature.

Debate on Baltic Financial Autonomy Assessed

18001523 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 16 Jul 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Mikhail L. Bronshteyn of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Economic Reform, by L. Sher of ETA [Estonian Press Agency]: "Committee Says: 'Yes!'"; date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] **The general public of two Baltic republics—Lithuania and Estonia—impatiently awaited the day of 14 July. One need not speak of the impatience, the tension among their representatives in the parliament of the country. This particular day, 14 July, carrying out the assignment to the Supreme Soviet given by the USSR Congress of Peoples' Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Economic Reform examined the legislative initiatives of two republics on their 1 January 1990 transition to separate republic economic management.**

I asked committee member Mikhail Bronshteyn to tell me how the examination went.

[Sher] Mikhail Lazarevich, do not mince words, tell me straight, how did deliberations go?

[Bronshteyn] Well. Ours was the principal committee, but the planning and budget-finance commissions of the Soviet of the Union, and the commission of the Soviet of Nationalities on social and economic development of Soviet and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and districts also took part. Furthermore, many peoples' deputies of the USSR, not members of the committees and commissions were in the hall. Naturally, many peoples' deputies from our republic came, many even arrived for the purpose. I must say that for 3 days the work of our committee dominated the proceedings, therefore the basic trend of the discussion and moments of sharpest disagreement were not difficult to foresee. I. Toome, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], gave an excellent basic report, Kazimera Prunskene represented Lithuania. She is now deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR. We deliberated for over 3 hours.

[Sher] And how was participation at the session of the Supreme Soviet?

[Bronshteyn] Our deliberations took place Friday [14 July] afternoon, when there was no session.

[Sher] But it was rescheduled, so as to give a chance to members of the Supreme Soviet to stay home!

[Bronshteyn] We did not have to choose.

[Sher] How did the discussions go?

[Bronshteyn] Discussions got rather intense, and in the end the question was put to a vote. And here the previous 3 days' work showed its effect. Only three persons voted against or abstained, out of approximately 60 members of the committee and commissions. And a special working group for the working-out of the final document—Prunskene, Bunich, Kallas and I—were charged with making editorial corrections.

[Sher] Were any changes of principle inserted?

[Bronshteyn] Big changes in principle, which would have changed the substance, no. But the document is now different, not what we previously imagined, because out of two documents—the Lithuanian draft and ours—we made one draft law of the USSR. But substantively it has no changes, only in form.

[Sher] As far as I know, strong opposition was expected on the subject of property and own currency. Did it really go smoothly?

[Bronshteyn] On the subject of republic property and transfer to republic property an argument arose over our having to pay for this and that, built or created for the accounts of centralized funds. We, even earlier, advanced very simple counterarguments: "This will lead to endless recalculations—who, where and what was built for our money. We also participated in the creation of centralized funds, we built in Siberia, etc., we provided resources for the union budget. Recriminations will begin over who did what damage to whom. Nothing good will come of it." Academician Bunich insisted that the republic resources applied to the union budget be calculated on the principle of progressive tax. We argued, but then agreed that since progressivity is determined by agreement, it can be as low as desired. In the document it nowhere states directly that we introduce our own currency, but the republic has the right to regulate currency circulation and credit. But even if we get our own system of currency, interrepublic trade will be denominated in rubles, on which we were always in agreement. Now it is in writing.

[Sher] How did representatives of other republics react to these proposals, did they try to apply it to themselves?

[Bronshteyn] Some did, but as of now, they do not show too much initiative. Our most serious opponent was Academician Albakin. Today he also spoke very critically, but was not supported. He gave one speech steeped in what I would call imperial spirit, but there were no more speeches about our interests bringing harm to others. There was also talk about us not being prepared, about not having completed all the necessary calculations, what the republic gains and what it loses. We answered the speaker that it was surely our business, not his. On that subject, we made the most important calculations, and can well imagine what awaits us, including the difficulties. The question of costs was always before us. It was written in our drafts that we are categorically against discriminatory pricing. Thus, I would say, another very important victory was achieved.

[Sher] When will the session take up the matter?

[Bronshteyn] On Monday, 17 July, we must distribute the corrected document to all, reconvene our committee, and report for session debates.

[Sher] That is, you want the session to make its decision before August 4th?

[Bronshteyn] Yes, that is what we want, and we have reasons to believe that there will be no delays in deciding the question, even though Albakin assured us that the Supreme Soviet will return the document to us for additional work.

[Sher] Why, of all people, Albakin, one of the most progressive economists of the country?

[Bronshteyn] After all, he is the principal author of the so-called "Maslyukov Proposal." At hearings he insisted that this proposal is as far as the country could go now. But at committee sessions, the majority recognized that our draft is considerably better. This was recognized by Maslyukov himself when he spoke on the occasion of

being appointed first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Naturally, things will change with time and all documents will be further adjusted.

[Sher] I thank you and congratulate you upon the victory!

Lawyer Examines Baltic Economic Autonomy

PM0308111189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 89 p 1

[Legal affairs commentator L. Nikitinskiy article: "Insofar as..."; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The ratification of decrees continued at the USSR Supreme Soviet session yesterday [27 Jul] and two resolutions were adopted: "On the proposals of the Supreme Soviets of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR on the Republics' Transfer to Economic Accountability [Khozraschet]" and "On the Proposals of the Supreme Soviets of the Lithuanian SSR and Estonian SSR on the Transfer of those Republics to Economic Autonomy." However, the problem that those resolutions are incompatible with the USSR Constitution remains unresolved. L. Nikitinskiy, our legal affairs commentator, now considers this.

The Baltic region is switching to economic accountability. This event, whose full significance we can hardly appreciate today, did not arouse great disagreements during the vote in parliament: The storm had died down the day before. On 27 July the USSR Supreme Soviet approved the proposal of the Lithuanian, Latvia, and Estonian parliaments on those republics' transfer to economic accountability on 1 January 1990 with just 15 votes against and 15 abstentions.

As for the economic aspect of this fundamental step, let us rely on the authority of such specialists as deputies Abalkin, Bunich, and others, who fully support the concept of republic economic accountability. However, from the legal viewpoint, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 27 July raised more problems than it settled.

The stumbling block lies in the foundation of this document, to be precise item 3, which says: "Legislative acts of the USSR **regulating economic relations** operate on the territory of the union republics in question insofar as they **do not obstruct their transfer to economic accountability"** (my boldface—L.N. note).

The first question in this regard is: Who will decide whether a specific law of the USSR does or does not hinder economic accountability in a republic? The resolution seems to give equal rights to the parliaments of the republics and the all-union parliament, if it does not give priority to the first. What kind of arbitration procedure should there be in the event of disagreement?

But disagreements are inevitable, including on the grounds of the other phrase which we highlighted: What acts are to be taken as "regulating economic relations"? For instance, can one apply to the economic management sphere the question of the state language which is now acute in the Baltic republics and point to ignorance of a language as further grounds for dismissal? This depends on whether "economic relations" are interpreted in a narrow or broad sense. But who to determine that?

The day before the document was adopted, the floor was given at the very close of the evening sitting to Deputy Ye.V. Kogan, the well known Estonian Inter-Movement activist. As that man made his way to the microphone a large number of Baltic deputies moved toward the doors intent on leaving the hall. That unanimous protest was caused not by the Interfront representative's speech but by the mere fact that he had been given the floor, which in my eyes undermined the image of the invariable amicable politeness of the Baltic deputies, whom I respect.

As Ye.V. Kogan was thus unable to use the microphone at the USSR Supreme Soviet on 26 July, let us give him the floor in the newspaper, taking as our basis the principle of respect for another person's opinions. We have nothing against Estonian cost-covering, the deputy said, even though it seems to us that if true autonomy were granted to enterprises the question of republic economic accountability would disappear of its accord. But we welcome that, too, because it will benefit both the Estonians and citizens of other nationalities living in the republic. However, we are opposed to the purely economic label of economic accountability being used in the Estonian Supreme Soviet as a cover for forcing through political decisions which restrict the rights of those who have now been disparagingly labelled as "migrants."

Deputy Kogan believes that the 27 July resolution is an "unprincipled compromise." It will dissatisfy the extreme wing of the People's Front of Estonia, which was expecting to receive far greater rights, and not only economic but also political. It will also meet with a guarded response from the Inter-Movement, where they well understand how hypothetical the dividing line is between purely "economic" and interethnic political relations.

Returning to a legal analysis of the document, I have to note that despite its outward moderation it also undermines and overturns the stereotyped notions of our jurisprudence on the correlation between all-union and republic legislation and essentially torpedoes article 74 of the USSR Constitution, which says: "In the event of a discrepancy between a union republic law and an all-union law, the law of the USSR shall prevail."

In my view, the new decision, which essentially changes the USSR Constitution, falls within the competence not of the USSR Supreme Soviet but of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, and furthermore must be adopted by a two-thirds majority, as article 174 of the USSR Constitution requires.

I voice my own view not without inner resistance, because I essentially believe that the course proposed in the resolution of 27 July is the only right one: If the revolution in our legal system does come about, it will set that system the right way up rather than upside down. I think that the lack of formal consistency between a USSR Supreme Soviet act and the USSR Constitution attests less to haste in matters of regional economic accountability than to the fact that even the basic law can sometimes fail to keep pace with life.

Over the long decades in which it has dominated, the administrative-edict system of management has created the corresponding bureaucratic system of legislation conceived by the apparatus in the center and duplicated and copied in the republics. The codes of all the union republics are as alike as peas in a pod, which turns republic legislation into meaningless paper scribble.

We are now witnessing the birth of a new method of "cultivating" laws from below. I personally have no doubt that these laws will more fully reflect the will and needs of the people, be accepted by them, and have greater effect. However, with this kind of approach the role of the legislator at all-union level still seems unclear. Will he just gather the dried husks of republic laws or suggest guiding principles for the republic parliaments? How in the latter case will the former bureaucratic diktat of the center be avoided?

As soon as the document on economic accountability for the Baltic was approved in the Supreme Soviet, deputies from other republics began to display interest: Could we, too, not use the benefits accorded by the status of republic economic accountability? Soon this same question was heard in relation to the autonomous republics also. If this line of argument were logically continued, then why, say, should Tyumen Oblast or the city of Torzhok not transfer to economic accountability and not demand that the legislation of the Russian Federation be applied to their territory only "as long as" it did not impede their "transition to economic accountability"?

The Supreme Soviet decision will doubtless cause agitation in certain circles of public opinion, which can be summed up by a currently popular phrase: "The country is falling apart before our eyes." But perhaps the reverse is happening.

When an old car undergoes major repair, first of all it is stripped down to its components and only then assembled again, with new methods of reinforcement and lubrication used where necessary. Is this not the process we are now witnessing? Of course, it is not simple and involves the need to resolve many problems hitherto unknown to us, but this course of action must be taken if our old car is not to fall apart.

Tbilisi Commission Draft Findings Discussed

PM2208092189 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Jul 89 p 2

[GRUZINFORM report: "In Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Commission"]

[Text] The draft of the final conclusion prepared by the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet working group commission on the investigation of the incidents which took place 9 April 1989 in Tbilisi City has grown from 32 to 52 typescript pages after its preliminary discussion.

As the commission's chairman, Professor Tamaz Shavgulidze, leader of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Research Center, announced at the commission's latest sitting, the constructive remarks and proposals, amplifications and additions made by the commission members have made it possible to create a document which clearly traces the cause and effect links of virtually all aspects of the tragedy which occurred.

The provisions and conclusions set forth in the conclusion and the documentary additions to it are based on the evidence of hundreds of witnesses and victims and militiamen and medical workers who were at the place of the incident and on the explanations given to the commission by the leaders of the republic's party, soviet, All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, trade union, and law enforcement organs. Use was also made of the explanations received from leading workers of party and government organs, the Georgian KGB, the Transcaucasus Military District, and other military departments by the investigation commission formed by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in connection with the 9 April events in Tbilisi. A careful study was also made of documents concerning these events in the possession of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, and other organs and there was an analysis of the conclusions of the forensic expert testimony, the medical and chemical and toxicological commissions, the International Red Cross Committee, and Soviet and foreign scientists and specialists. In creating a reliable document the commission was greatly assisted by familiarization with video tapes, photographs, and material evidence. It studied and generalized the public opinion of the republic's population and analyzed items published in the republican, union, and foreign press in connection with the events which took place.

On the basis of the collected material a document was created which not only reflects the real picture of what happened but also gives a legal and sociopolitical assessment of it. Meanwhile, some time still remains before the document is submitted for examination and approval at a Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet session. That is why the updated version of the commission's conclusion was

issued to its members for a more detailed examination and the final polishing of the text, particularly in its sociopolitical and moral assessment of the circumstances of the incident.

Ukraine Considers Changes to Constitution

LD0708151189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] The draft laws on changes and additions to the republican constitution on elections of people's deputies to republican and local soviets have been published in the Ukraine for nationwide discussion. The drafts take account of many remarks and proposals expressed at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. It has been established that the republic's supreme organ of state power is its congress of people's deputies. Six hundred of them are elected, including 150 on behalf of public organizations. Electoral meetings are not envisaged during elections of people's deputies. A special article confirms that citizens of other republics who reside in the Ukraine also enjoy electoral rights.

Interethnic Relations in Moldavia Viewed

18001517 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 16 Jul 89 pp 1,3

[ATEM report: "Tolerance and Common Sense Should Triumph"]

[Text] Alarming reflections have set deep furrows on the face of my native city. Today we are looking squarely into the eyes of near and dear ones, trying to understand their position in the sociopolitical situation that has taken shape in the republic, and their attitudes toward the problems that are worrying the population of the republic. Some are hiding their true thoughts behind a unnatural bravado or, not bothering themselves with arguments, are speaking out against those who think differently. Some are engaging in sesquipedalian verbiage, behind which the position of a weathercock can be easily seen. And some are simply remaining silent, giving it up as a bad job: Que sera sera....

The atmosphere was different in the Palace of Culture at the Kishinev "Mezon" Production Association, where on 14 July more than 600 representatives of the labor collective gathered. It was different, although there was also concern in the eyes of the people who, after the hall was filled, formed groups around the loudspeakers set up in the hallways and the foyer of the Palace of Culture. But there was also hope and there was optimism.

At the discussion at the meeting in which representatives and members of the labor collective councils and the collectives from many enterprises and organizations in the Moldavian capital took part, today's most painful issue was raised, namely, interethnic relations and the sociopolitical situation in Moldavia.

The frictions and intolerance that have arisen on interethnic grounds in our republic and in a number of regions in the country are naturally a cause of alarm and concern for all people, said I.D. Lekhtman, chairman of the association labor collective council, in his opening address. It is this that determined our council's decision to debate all together what is happening in the city and to express our attitude toward it.

The discussion was very candid. And the tone was set by the statement from S.K. Grossu, Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, whom the labor collective council at the "Mezon" Association had asked to take part in the meeting.

Interethnic problems, he said, have become particularly exacerbated recently, and today they have assumed a threatening character. The situation has developed in this way largely as the result of the actions of the unofficial associations. Recent events have shown that party and government organs have been trying to stabilize the situation. There have been meetings with the leaders of the unofficial associations. Agreement was reached that their actions will take place within the framework of the law. However, their word has been at variance with their deeds. At recent meetings, anti-Soviet and anti-Russian sentiments have been expressed and there has been a departure from historical truth.

The sociopolitical situation that has been created in the republic is of great concern to the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and all party organizations, the speaker continued. We must take those actions that would exert a positive influence on the processes taking place on republic territory. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee 13th Plenum unanimously advocated the consolidation of all sociopolitical forces on the principles set forth in the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, and it roundly condemned and spoke out against all kinds of extremism and the inflaming of emotions on national grounds. Recent Central Committee decisions, and also the decisions of party organizations adopted at meetings during discussion of the plenum materials, have been directed toward this. During the course of this campaign more than 42 leaders who are Communists, who had violated the CPSU rules and entered into a bloc with extremist elements, and not only failed to help in calming and smoothing interethnic relations but even exacerbated them through their own actions, were strictly censured, expelled from the party, and fired from their jobs.

Analyzing the course of the debate on questions of issuing a decree making Moldavian the official language and the use of Russian as the language of interethnic dealings in Moldavia, the speaker emphasized that the debate on this issue still lacks standards, and that today's objective situation is not always taken into account. And this confirms that undue haste cannot be permitted in adopting a final resolution, which must answer the interests of the republic's entire population.

The path of mutual respect and consolidation is the only way to solve the urgent problems in society. We must not move to extremism. That can lead only to further complication of the situation. Everyone should be aware that the Moldavian government and legal organs are capable of guaranteeing protection of the rights of each citizen living on the territory of the republic, regardless of his nationality.

National policy is today being pursued in accordance with today's realities. The key factors here are a significant extension of the rights of the all-union and autonomous republics and other national formations, transferring a growing range of management functions to the local level, and strengthening the independence of republic and local organs while simultaneously raising their responsibility to the workers. The upcoming transfer by the republic to full cost accounting, self-financing, and self-management is very important for the state of affairs here.

Dealing in detail with the resolution of socioeconomic problems in the republic, S.K. Grossu emphasized in conclusion the following:

Tolerance, restraint, and common sense—these are the things that determine a person's behavior in a civilized society, and today they are acquiring a special significance. Everything that affects interethnic problems is taking place through the consciousness and spirit of each person. This is why every citizen should today be doing everything possible to calm passions. An extreme sense of responsibility is now necessary from literally everyone in the approach to interethnic issues. All who hold dear the peace and well-being of our people cannot be mere observers of the situation that has taken shape. Each person must assume a clear and firm stance.

It was from these positions that those present at the meeting approached the assessment of the position in the republic. The essence of the statement may be encapsulated in the words written on the placards held up in the hall: "Today We Must Say 'No' to Extremism, 'No' to Hatred. Good Will, Truth, and Humanism Will Triumph"; "We Are United by a Common Destiny"; "Equality for People Regardless of Their Nationality."

Here are excerpts from the statements recorded by journalists on their dictating machines.

M.A. Vertsman, plant deputy director:

The position supported by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee fully suits me personally as a Communist and as an inhabitant of the republic, because this policy rejects the actions of those who are entering into conflict without trying to find a common language. It seems to me that democracy expressed just by rallies does not provide anything practical apart from inflaming passions. In this connection I would like to suggest that we have many clubs and all kinds of free halls, and there is a well equipped House of Political Enlightenment, which could be a discussion club. At the initiative of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the gorkom [city party committee] people could hold various kinds of meetings there.

I am in favor of making Moldavian the official language and Russian the language of interethnic dealings in the republic. I am in favor of Moldavian having a Latin script, but proper preparations must be made for this.

A.V. Nechipurenko, operator:

Extremism, chauvinism, and nationalism, which are now taking flight, must have their wings clipped. Every person must be dealt with respectfully, no matter what the language in which he may express himself. I have never been interested in a person's nationality; the main thing is how he regards the fulfillment of his duties—work and civic—and his comrades. It seems to me that there are forces among us that have now raised the language and national problems for far-reaching purposes. They want to divert us from the urgent tasks that perestroyka is placing before us. I favor this perestroyka, which could offer the opportunity always and everywhere to feel that one is an individual and have no fear of physical or moral destruction. I am in favor of perestroyka in which one can bring one's own honestly earned money to a store and buy what one needs.

V.F. Doni, shop chief:

Our fate and the fate of those nearest and dearest to us depend on how today's problems are resolved. I propose the creation of city and republic labor collective councils. With their participation, and also with representatives of the People's Front, Interfront, and party, soviet, and economic organs we must resolve all questions. For the firmest and healthiest foundation for society is found in the labor collectives. Today, while you and I work at the enterprises, irresponsible people are taking advantage of the situation that has taken shape and are pushing the people toward the most dreadful thing that can happen.

I.Ya. Katereu, setter:

Why has it come about that the Moldavian-language press is giving one interpretation of events while the Russian-language press is giving another? The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department has either removed itself from this work or has lost control over the mass media.

V.N. Patov, worker:

I am interested in knowing whether or not the party Central Committee has made an analysis of who has come to the meeting. I am sure that the workers from our plant have not come. And if they have it is out of sheer

curiosity. All workers, from the Central Committee to the rayon committees [raykoms], should today be going to the people and doing painstaking work directly in the collectives.

V.G. Karagyaur, section chief:

At first we simply did not accept the unofficial bodies, but now we are spoiling them and quietly retreating.... The Moldavian Communist Party should become the force that unites all nationalities and all fronts. We cannot brush aside the fact that in each of the programs of the fronts there is a rational kernel that should be used. But this must be done actively, without delay.

V.G. Semenchuk, deputy chairman of the labor collective council at the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Committee for Statistics main computer center:

It is very important that our party start to offer a principled assessment of the actions of those Communists who are building barricades against the other side at meetings.... The situation is also inflamed both where we live and where we work. And only the solidarity of the workers of all nationalities can repel the extremists.... It is essential to form a standing working organ made up of representatives of the labor collective councils in the various production enterprises. This will enable us to act not on rumors but according to the situation.

A.A. Kozlov, shop chief:

I came to Moldavia in 1957. My family was the only Russian family in the village. And in 30 years I have never sensed any manifestation of nationalism against myself. I graduated from a Moldavian school. Knowledge of both Moldavian and Russian helps me in my work in our multinational collective. The situation that has taken shape in the republic requires careful study, and a study of the problems that have arisen here, and indeed in other republics—socioeconomic, ecological, and national. We have delayed any resolution to the problem of an official language. There are no scientific grounds for the language problems.... We live in Moldavia and should respect the Moldavian language and the people's culture.

A.S. Kurshutov, section chief:

I appeal for the unity of all our peoples. For what is happening? With each passing day we are becoming increasingly disunited. The party must be able to rely on all of us. On 2 August we must provide the names of the labor collectives with the red banners, and with appeals for democracy so that no fronts can terrify us.

V.G. Marinov, party committee secretary at the "Alfa" Plant:

We, both Communists and nonparty people, all aware citizens having a principled position on questions of perestroyka and the apparatuses of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the party gorkoms and raykoms, should go out among the masses to explain this position. We should hold a meeting of the labor collectives in the city, at which the consolidation of healthy forces in the republic should be demonstrated.

V.S. Nikulin, general director of the "Mezon" Production Association:

Our meeting today is being held at the initiative of the labor collective council. The party committee, the enterprise administration, and the Kishinev council of directors have supported it. The latter is concerned about the situation that has taken shape. I do not know of a single director of an enterprise of all-union subordination in Kishinev who would in any way subscribe to any kind of unofficial movement. The director leads a collective, he is a Communist, and today he is following the party line. The situation is such that our party is always in the rear of events. We consider every step for a long time and are very indecisive in our attitude toward the events that are taking place today throughout the country.

We see this in our own work. Today we spend more time at the lathe talking than creating things in the enterprise, and we think less about our business. And this is the undermining of our economy. And today we say that we have heard enough talk. The labor collectives must move out into the square and tell everyone what the most powerful force is in resolving the tasks of perestroyka: It is the Communist Party. We are with it! And we must resolve our social and economic questions on a priority basis. And let us move along this path together with the party.

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The meeting lasted 4 hours. The opinions of those present differed. But they were all united in one thing: Common sense must prevail.

The meeting of representatives of the labor collectives at the "Mezon" Association adopted an appeal to the labor collectives and population of Kishinev and the republic.

Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee secretary V.F. Semenov took part in the work of the meeting.

Moldavian Worker Sentenced for Organizing Meetings
LD0708091489 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 21 Jul 89

[Excerpts] There was an open hearing of the criminal case against D.A. Popa, a worker at the Iskozh combine lasting for 3 days in the club at the combine. It was presided over by A.M. Mardar, a member of the collegium of the Supreme Court of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

The criminal case presented to the Supreme Court by the republic's prosecutor's office describes D.A. Popa as one of the organizers and active participants in the unsanctioned meetings and marches which took place in central Kishinev on 22 January. [passage omitted]

The court found D.A. Popa guilty under article 203 of the criminal code of the Moldavian SSR and sentenced him to 6 months corrective labor in his place of work with a monthly deduction of 20 percent from his pay to go to the state. Under article 45 of the criminal code of the Moldavian SSR the fact that the accused was held on remand from 17 March until 3 June this year has been fully taken into consideration as part of the sentence. As a result the court released D.A. Popa from serving the sentence.

Ethnic Relations in RSFSR Described

PM0908083189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Yu. Samsonov, first secretary of Ulyanovsk CPSU Oblast Committee, under the rubric "Preparing for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum": "Resolving the Nationalities Question"]

[Excerpts] Ulyanovsk—The nationalities question and the heartland of Russia.... Do these concepts go together? Life shows that they do. There is virtually no region or oblast anywhere in our country where problems in interethnic relations have not been glimpsed. Wherever party committees have taken action without waiting for instructions from the center and resolved these problems, there is positive experience to be seen.

People have suddenly begun to talk about the nationalities issue in our oblast, too. Everything began with letters to the CPSU oblast committee [obkom] from representatives of Tatar nationals. The tone of these letters was insistent, their authors demanded immediate action. Here are some characteristic phrases: "...The authorities must be required to observe our legitimate rights in cultural development. An oblast weekly published in the Tatar language is needed..." Demands for television and radio organizations were couched in the same vein, as were demands that new preschool establishments and schools with Tatar-language instruction be opened.

Then letters also appeared from representatives of the Chuvash nationality, also voicing disquiet over the development of their native language and the lack of elements of national culture and traditions in young people's education.

Yet before interethnic life in our oblast had seemed trouble-free, despite the multinational makeup of the population.

In short, we do indeed live and work together, often without knowing or even wondering who belongs to which nationality. Indeed, you would think, what is the importance of this when there has been and is no ethnic discrimination in wages or in the distribution of housing or any other social benefits. Why has talk of national inequality suddenly emerged?

The question of real equality for all nations is no idle one for Ulyanovsk Oblast, which is inhabited by representatives of more than 80 nationalities. Especially since, despite the overall Russian majority, Tatars, Chuvash, and Mordvinians represent 10.6, 7.3, and 5.1 percent of the population, respectively. Their interests, like those of the representatives of any—even the smallest—nation or ethnic group, have to be taken into account.

Effectively, given the predominance of the Russian-speaking population in joint production, which requires a single language, the indigenous languages—Tatar, Chuvash, Mordvinian—and, correspondingly, their national traditions and culture may find themselves in a subservient role. That is happening. It is happening because a mechanism for considering the interests of all nationalities in our oblast, as elsewhere, incidentally, has not been developed, yet the people's power should be aware of the people's interests. Once this conclusion had been drawn, the oblast soviet of people's deputies was recommended to set up a corresponding commission on interethnic relations. A group of consultants was set up to deal with these questions as a temporary measure under the CPSU obkom. But either the tone of the recommendations was not seen as binding or the obkom itself was insufficiently convinced of the need for this group, so we did not perceive any particular changes.

We returned to the question again right after the 19th all-union party conference. The idea voiced in the resolution on interethnic relations was extremely precise and far-reaching: A person of any nationality must feel at home in any part of our socialist homeland. D. Sharipov—member of the CPSU obkom bureau, first secretary of Cherdaklinskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, a Tatar national, and an internationalist by conviction—headed the Commission on Interethnic Relations.

Damir Ismagilovich actively led the work of the commission. At first he paid a great deal of attention to work with the leaders of oblast administrations and departments. Progress was slow, but real. Today the commission has authority and people take its opinion into account.

It is often not very easy to plumb the depths of the problems here. For the situation in cities, rayon centers, and national villages differs in many respects. We have endeavored to gain a deeper grasp of these problems with the help of the sociological research and public opinion study section set up at the CPSU obkom. We devote a great deal of attention to molding correct public opinion among the population, by organizing speeches by party officials to various audiences and their involvement in debates with young people and by making active use of the mass media.

In my opinion, cooperation with two informal associations is an important link in the mechanism for revealing national interests. Their names—both Tatar and Chuvash—translate into Russian as "Native Language." These associations generally express the entire gamut of national-cultural demands from maximalist positions. However, it is quite possible to take their viewpoints into consideration, making appropriate allowances. The CPSU obkom and the Commission on Interethnic Relations are keeping these associations within their purview—with their participation we hold national holidays, themed soirees devoted to prominent cultural figures, friendship soirees, and exhibitions.

An international friendship center has been set up for representatives of all nationalities living in the oblast and is equipped with libraries, video and record libraries, and indigenous language study courses. The indigenous language was until recently taught in just one-third of schools, where an overwhelming number of non-Russian children study. Today the number of schoolchildren studying the native language has virtually doubled. Admittedly, this is due at present to the introduction of optional subjects and study groups. But this is only the first stage. The second will be the transition to deeper forms of acquaintance with the language. A network of children's preschool establishments with instruction in the Mordovian, Tatar, and Chuvash languages is beginning to be set up.

All these questions are by no means simple. During the years when little attention was paid to national-Russian bilingualism, some parents and, accordingly, their children developed a definite nihilistic attitude toward the native language. I believe that this also happened owing to the imperfect nature of the present-day system of admission to higher and secondary specialized educational establishments in the union and autonomous republics, where entrance examinations were in Russian. The sphere of use of the native languages was also often restricted in everyday life and even in many national villages—for instance, in visual agitation and wall newspapers, which are mainly produced in Russian for some reason.

We are also trying to find new approaches to resolving interethnic questions in the mass media. With the support of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, Tatar- and Chuvash-language editorial offices have been opened. We have begun to systematically develop a radio broadcasting network using the native language in national villages. We are studying the possibilities of publishing oblast newspapers in the Tatar and Chuvash languages. There has been a marked revival in the creative activity of folk and other national independent artistic collectives. Professional performers and collectives from neighboring autonomous republics are frequent visitors to the oblast. A decision was recently adopted to set up an open-air ethnographic museum incorporating exhibits from the distant past—exhibits illustrating the way of life of the Russian, Mordovian, Tatar, and Chuvash peoples, who have lived side by side from time immemorial.

The cadre question is also in need of serious review today. It requires more scrupulous consideration of the opinions of labor collectives and the population. The training of teachers, journalists, and cultural workers must also be correctly oriented to a greater extent than before. In the new situation blunders in cadre policy are often transferred to nationalities questions.

In a rule-of-law democratic state we cannot fail to take account of any reasonable manifestations of national sentiment. Even if these feelings have a religious slant. Our oblast's former underestimation and occasional disregard for the religious feelings of some of the population is becoming a thing of the past. [passage omitted]

The turbulent events in the sphere of interethnic relations occurring in various regions of the country cannot fail to worry us.

We are not indifferent to the path and future of Soviet federalism. There has been an acute and interested reaction to the debate that has unfolded in PRAVDA on this question. In our view, the attempts by authors from the Baltic (PRAVDA, 26 July this year) to equate the concepts of federation and confederation are unconvincing. We are convinced that the future of the Soviet peoples lies in strengthening and, of course, improving the Soviet federation.

We proceed from the premise that everyone must do what he can to contribute to the process of internationalizing people's life. We must seek points of contact and strive together to overcome the problems in a calm atmosphere.

On the initiative of the CPSU obkom, days of international friendship among the peoples of the USSR have been held for the last 2 years in V.I. Lenin's homeland in the spring. Representatives of all union and autonomous republics in the Volga region gather under the Lenin Memorial to discuss current problems, acquaint themselves with culture and traditions, and better understand one another. There is no nobler aim than to guard and increase Lenin's internationalist gains and fill them with new substance.

Dagestan Interethnic Tensions Outlined

PM0808092789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Kazikhanov, TASS correspondent G. Shamov: "Time To Resolve the Problems"]

[Text] Makhachkala—It happened quite recently. An ordinary quarrel which arose between several young Avar and Chechen-Akkin on the border between Novolakskiy Rayon and Khasavyurtovskiy Rayon (the circumstances are being investigated by the public prosecutor's

offices of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and the Dagestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], instantly prompted a chain reaction: The next day thousands of representatives of the two nationalities gathered here to sort things out. Only timely intervention by the authorities prevented carnage on a massive scale.

So what exactly happened?

In order to answer this question, we must look at the factors which have been causing a buildup of tension in recent years between some Chechen and Dagestani people, who have lived side by side in friendship since time immemorial.

As is well known, in 1944 hundreds of thousands of Chechen were forcibly removed to Central Asia; among them were the Chechen-Akkin, who lived in northern Dagestan, in Aukhovskiy Rayon, which was then renamed Novolakskiy Rayon. The inhabitants of several mountainous regions of Dagestan were resettled in the land thus vacated—also forcibly. In 1957 the Chechen began to return to their native land. In Dagestan they were settled—with the consent of both sides—in the territory of Khasavyurtovskiy Rayon and Babayurtovskiy Rayon, which border on what used to be Aukhovskiy Rayon. Nevertheless, to this day many Akkin still raise the question of restoring Aukhovskiy Rayon in northern Dagestan within the 1944 borders and restoring the old names to their native villages.

The demands are, of course, just. But the complexity of meeting these demands lies not so much in redrawing the map of three rayons in Dagestan as in resettling the thousands of Lak and Avar families now living here—hence the present tension. Individual clashes and conflicts on personal, consumer, and production grounds sometimes develop into clashes between several villages at once.

The Dagestan ASSR Council of Ministers, which was set up recently to study interethnic problems, has begun work. It includes representatives of not only soviet and party bodies but also of informal organizations representing the Avar, Lak, and Chechen-Akkin people. It is looking for ways to resolve these highly complex problems. Judging by the first sessions, there are ways to do this. Although the situation in northern Dagestan is, unfortunately, still tense.

Moves To Repair Fergana Housing Reported

LD0808091989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Text] We'll begin this bulletin with a report from Fergana.

Forty houses of Meskhetian Turks, which were destroyed during the sad events of June, were handed over today by the commission of the town soviet executive committee following major repairs. But this is just the beginning of major work in restoring the housing of the evacuated population. The special commission of the town soviet executive committee has examined all of the structures and assessed the damage inflicted. Construction organizations of the town and collectives of major industrial enterprises have been involved in the repair work. Specialists have concluded that more than R2 million are needed for the restoration of housing in Fergana. About R3 million more will be required as compensation for property destroyed and pillaged.

Similar work is also under way in other towns and villages of the oblast affected by the tragic events in June, so that home owners wishing to return will find their housing in good order.

KGB Steps Up Fight Against Smuggling

PM2208125389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Text] The board of the USSR's State Security Committee (KGB) has considered the question of stepping up its fight against smuggling and violations of rules of currency transactions.

It has been stressed that KGB's activity in this area is of immense political significance and is closely connected with the economic, social, and moral aspects of perestroyka under modern conditions and serves the cause of strengthening law and order in the country.

Smuggling and violation of rules of currency transactions are merging with organized crime the growth of which seriously complicates the situation in the country.

Organized crime groups have been reported to try to bribe state offcials, including law-enforcement bodies.

The actions of smugglers and currency speculators are increasing in scale all the the time and affect the interests of our society as a whole. Various categories of Soviet citizens, particularly representatives of the young generation, are becoming involved in criminal activity.

Groups of smugglers and currency speculators are establishing ties with foreign gangs specializing in contraband and illegal currency dealings.

There is growth in the transportation of large batches of drugs via Soviet territory and in the bringing of foreign-made drugs directly into the USSR. Criminal deals on this basis cause serious economic and political damage distort the moral and ethical bases of a certain section of Soviet citizens, and often lead to the irrecoverable loss of our people's national cultural assets.

Having analyzed work in this area, the KGB board observed that more than 1,500 smugglers and currency dealers, Soviet or foreign nationals, had been brought to account in the past five years under criminal cases investigated by KGB units.

Tens of millions of rubles worth of Soviet and foreign currency, precious metals and jewels, manufactured goods, antiques, works of art and culture have been confiscated from them and returned to the state.

The KGB and state customs bodies have seized more than 12 tonnes of drugs illegally transported via Soviet territory into countries of Western Europe and America.

Many attempts to smuggle weapons, munition, explosive and toxic substances into the Soviet Union have been thwarted.

At the same time, there are shortcomings in the activity of the Chekist apparatus in the field of combatting smuggling and the violation of the regulations on currency operations. The measures taken are not always effective and do not fully meet the demands of today, or of the public danger and dynamics of growth of this type of criminal activity. Preventative work is inadequate. Little attention is devoted to exposing the reasons and the conditions promoting smuggling and currency speculation activities. An improvement in the interaction between the KGB and other law enforcement bodies of the country is required. The further coordination of efforts with the police and customs services of capitalist and developing countries, with international organizations waging the struggle against the smuggling of national cultural valuables, narcotics and counterfeit currency is necessary. The board detemined that the struggle against smuggling and the violation of the currency operation regulations should be regarded as an important direction of the operational service activity of KGB subunits in the defense of the economic and sociopolitical system of the Soviet State, the potential contribution of state security bodies in eradicating organized crime in the country, and in defending the vital interests of Soviet society.

KGB subunits—intelligence, counterintelligence, investigative apparatus, border troops, and other services—have been set concrete tasks in improving operational service activity, aimed at strengthening the struggle against smuggling, violation of the regulations on currency operations, and organized crime. One practical measure envisaged in this direction is the strengthening of the corresponding intelligence subunits with additional experienced cadres possessing high professional, moral, and psychological qualities.

The board's decision obliges KGB subunits at the center, and locally, to inform party and state organs in good time about the state of this work. It was recognized as vital to increase attention on public forms of preventive measures and of forestalling crimes of this nature.

KGB Officials Meets With Moscow Workers

18001509 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 32, 12-18 Aug 89 p 7

[Report by Yu. Savin: "KGB Officials Respond to Questions"]

[Text]Workers and employees of Moscow's M. Khrunichev factory, which produces space technology ("Proton" missiles, "Mir"-type stations, and other products), met on 1 August with officials from the apparatus of the USSR Committee for State Security [KGB], who discussed their work, demonstrated models of certain technical devices used by Western special services to gather secret information, and answered numerous questions. We cite here the answers to some of them.

The country has recently seen a sharp increase in the level of organized crime. What is the participation of KGB organs in combating it?

KGB workers participate directly and actively in the struggle against organized crime, the mafia, and racketeering. They operate in close contact with the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], the Procuracy, and other law enforcement organs. The KGB organs also handle cases characterized by particular audacity on the part of the criminals. Thus, the KGB investigations department is now handling the case of a group of four hired killers that "took out a contract" on two citizens for a large sum of money.

Have the KGB organs recently had to investigate cases in which the accused were officials of the MVD or the USSR Procuracy?

There have been no such cases for the past 2 years.

How many agents of foreign services have the KGB organs managed to neutralize recently?

Over the last few years alone, KGB organs have neutralized about 30 agents of Western special services. Numerous eavesdropping devices set up in Soviet institutions located abroad have been detected and eliminated. We are also combating those who leak our trade secrets to foreign organizations. This year, for example, Lukashevich, a former worker of the construction materials industry, was convicted for receiving bribes and leaking secret information to representatives of foreign firms.

What means of technological surveillance do the Western countries use against the Soviet Union?

Approximately 40 spy satellites fly over the territory of the USSR. Six of them are intended to intercept information from radio relays of USSR communications lines. Approximately 2,000 tracking posts are located along the USSR border; on a monthly basis, 150 reconnaissance aircraft sorties are made along the western borders of the USSR and 70 on the eastern borders. With space tracking devices, the Western special services can

recognize objects 1-1.5 meters in diameter within the territory of the USSR. The facts of the conduct of reconnaissance using technological devices on the territory of the USSR itself have been established. Judging by American sources, the United States annually expends approximately $20 billion to gather intelligence.

How is the KGB participating in the rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinist repressions?

The USSR KGB has participated and does actively participate in this responsible work. Thus, in 1988 and the first quarter of this year, 47,088 people were rehabilitated, and 3,492 citizens were refused rehabilitation (these were former members of punitive expeditions, members of gang formations, nationalistic legions of a Hitlerite army, counterfeiters in criminal cases, etc.). There is not now one single person in the ranks of the KGB who was party to the repressions during the cult of personality.

Why was the well-known Soviet intelligence officer R. Abel not awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union?

Before the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, only a very few Chekists were awarded USSR orders. During the war years, some of them received the title of Hero of the Soviet Union; the number of orders awarded also increased. After the war, the practice of awarding orders to Chekists was reviewed. For this reason, Colonel R. Abel, who has done our country no small service, was not awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Does the KGB plan to transfer the building it occupies on Dzerzhinskiy Square in the Center of Moscow to one of the children's institutions?

You may recall that Comrade V.A. Kryuchkov already answered that question during his appointment as USSR KGB chairman at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In addition, this issue must be viewed from an economic standpoint as well: Will this be advantageous for the state budget? After all, transferring the complicated communications, equipment services, and auxiliary systems to a new location would require considerable financial expenses. The Chekists have no professional ambitions; therefore, this issue must be approached under the guidance not of emotions, but state considerations.

Why do KGB personnel guard our state leaders when they travel around the country? Could it be that someone here is threatening them?

Providing security for state leaders is accepted in all countries. This is linked to the fact that the threat of international terrorism is growing. It is sufficient to recall the fate of foreign state figures such as I. Gandhi, S. Bandaranaike, and O. Palme. It must not be forgotten that approximately 20 million foreigners come into the USSR each year, and among them are people who are involved in extremism. Nor can people suffering from psychological disorders be discounted; their actions under certain circumstances could prove to be unpredictable.

Officials on Fulfillment of Vienna Accords

PM0308093489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent G. Charodeyev from the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center: "How We are Carrying Out the Agreements"]

[Text] The significance attached in our country to the implementation of all the accords without exception reached by the 35 countries at the Vienna meeting was discussed at the latest briefing. The common European process has been developing constructively and dynamically for the past 6 months—this is the opinion of Yu.B. Kashlev, the special envoy who heads the Soviet delegation at the the CSCE forums.

"In the Soviet Union, the Vienna accords are being implemented in several areas," he stressed. "The first is legislative and lawmaking. There have been 50 draft laws prepared for the USSR Supreme Soviet, including over 10 connected with political and civil human rights. Among them is a law on freedom of conscience and religious organizations in the USSR, the law on social organizations and associations, on the press, on youth, and on entering and leaving the country. The Vienna accords were taken into maximum consideration in the work done on these documents.

"In practice the Soviet Union is also fulfilling the commitments it has taken upon itself. We were the first to publish the text of the final document of the Vienna meeting. We have adopted new rules on the professional activity of foreign correspondents in the USSR. Our country has adhered to the Vienna Convention on consular relations. Cultural and information centers of a number of Western countries will soon open in Moscow. On the whole, we are satisfied with the course of the implementation of the Vienna accords. We would like our partners too to have a responsible attitude to fulfilling them."

R.A. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Visas and Registration Department, explained the situation as regards emigration from the Soviet Union to the journalists. He reported that 108,000 people emigrated from our country last year, and another 91,000 have left in the first 6 months of this year. (Over 5,000 people left for religious reasons).

"As of 19 January," the speaker continued, "there were 1,855 outstanding applications to leave the country. Of these, 1,450 concerned temporary visits, and 405 were for permanent residence. As a result of the analysis of material, 84 percent of applications were granted: 1,325 for temporary visits and 231 for permanent residence. At the same time, in accordance with international accords,

including the Vienna documents, and also using the guidance of internal Soviet legislation, we are temporarily unable to grant the requests of 299 people because of specific circumstances. Some of those people, for example, have information concerning state secrets. There is a particular group of people who still have not settled their relationships with their parents or former spouses. Some citizens, in submitting applications to leave, deliberately gave false information to the internal affairs bodies. Therefore they were temporarily refused permission to go abroad. After receiving official permission to travel, 171 people voluntarily decided not to go."

The chief of the Visas and Registration Department then went on to report that a document has been adopted in which all Soviet citizens who have received permission to emigrate and a passport for traveling abroad are warned not to sell their property, leave their jobs, or sell or give up their living space until they had obtained an entrance visa to a country. Serious complications have arisen, for example, with obtaining visas for the United States; at present there are 26,000 people waiting for them at the American Embassy in Moscow.

In the past 6 months, over 35,000 people have received permission to leave for Israel. Altogether, since the immediate postwar years, over 300,000 people of Jewish nationality have left the USSR. Around 80 percent of them did not get as far as Israel and now live in other countries. Since the beginning of this year, over 41,000 citizens have gone to the FRG and 8,000 to the United states, of whom 80 percent are people of Armenian nationality.

Article Criticizes Creation of Deputies' Group

PM0608182989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

[S. Karkhanin article under the rubric "Political Observer's Notes": "How Should We Understand This Position?"]

[Text] Newspaper commentaries are usually written at high speed, before the subject matter ceases to be topical. However, in this case things were different. After all, even before the interregional deputies' group was set up it was a focus for strong feelings and contradictory, often mutually exclusive, assessments. That is why before talking about the meeting held at the Cinema Center, I would like to think over again and again what we heard, to leaf through my notebooks and the text of the stenographic record, and to talk with those deputies who have proved the constructive and well founded nature of their positions at the country's Supreme Soviet.

And yet it is too soon to draw any conclusions whatsoever. I can only talk about the encouraging and worrying points in the documents that I have read and the speeches that were made. Incidentally, readers will already be aware of certain "pros" and "cons" from the TV relays of the session, where this week there were some stormy arguments about the interregional group. It seems to me that the statements by Deputies V. Martirosyan and R. Medvedev can serve as a kind of generalization of the arguments that were put forward. The former stressed that: "We should not approach everything that is new as if it were something strange and dangerous. Although, we should, of course, work together." The latter formulated his doubts as follows: "The country now does not need surgery but intensive therapy." But let us return to the events in the Cinema Center.

...Only one-fourth of the huge auditorium was occupied by deputies, the other seats were occupied by the press—mostly the foreign press—and the kind of people that do not miss any event that might create something of a stir in the capital. This sector applauded almost incessantly and in general expressed "unanimous approval." At the same time, it was said from the rostrum that: "The people want precisely what the radical deputies proposed at the Congress! The Supreme Soviet has been dragged into an apparatus game called 'There is no power apart from the Supreme Soviet.' Of course, our formal establishment as an organization implies division. But the minority of deputies reflects the opinion of the majority of the people."

This last thesis was the refrain of many of the speeches at the meeting. But the question arises: How did this speaker know that he had the right to speak on behalf of the people? There was no proof to be heard. And it was no surprise that Deputy Kim Yen Un of Omsk, who is well known for the considered and balanced nature of his views, could take it no longer and objected: "We should not call ourselves front-rankers and radicals all the time... There should be no strict hierarchical system within the group. After all, we are responsible to our voters, not to the group."

The first question on the agenda was the debates on amendments to the Law on the State Enterprise. The drafts were quickly agreed upon. A first success? "Hardly," Deputy N. Travkin believes, "these amendments are a step backward compared with what the Supreme Soviet is working on." V. Kisin, a representative of Moscow's Likhachev Plant and deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union Industry Commission, agreed with him: "The question under discussion has been quite extensively studied by our commission with prominent specialists and leading economic managers taking part."

"I am not a member of the Supreme Soviet, but as a people's deputy I constantly participate in its work. In my opinion, we should exercise our rights rather than 'strive to obtain' them," this reply from V. Bushuyev, a power industry scientist from Novosibirsk, as it were debunked the conclusions of those who think that it is only in "struggle" that deputies can fully realize the potential of their intellect and energies.

Of course, the problem is far more complex than it may appear. And the range of reasons that attracted people to the group is reminiscent of a multicolored mosaic. It is now clear that by no means were all of them attracted by the idea of "expressing the views of the radical left-wing section of the population," even though it is precisely this slogan that the organizers put forward. In A. Markevich's opinion, the Supreme Soviet operates too slowly and time will not wait, so we need some kind of catalyst. B. Vasilyev of Kostroma hopes that the group sessions will make it possible to prepare draft laws more thoroughly. The motive guiding A. Mambetov was a grievance: "Only 'their people' spoke at the Congress, somebody's all-powerful hand kept deleting my name from the list of those wanting to speak." K. Kharchenko of Kalinin put it even more simply: "I realized that my bosses don't want me to join the group. But here I am..."

And yet the deputies unanimously adopted the platform worked out by the coordinating council. A mystery? No. The explanation lies in the platform itself, which, as Ye. Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, noted in his speech at the meeting, is based on Congress materials. Who is going to object to the principles of decentralization and demonopolization, control of the administrative apparatus, and the creation of economically accountable unions? But if this is so, Yevgeniy Maksimovich said, just what is the group planning to criticize? All the more so as the Supreme Soviet has managed to do a great deal. For the first time a government has been formed democratically, students have been released from military service, a law has been adopted on immediate measures to improve pensions, and an number of fundamentally important decrees have been ratified.

...After the recess one-third of the audience had left. The people who left were deputies who had come out of curiosity and spectators looking for a tasty spectacle who had lost interest in the proceedings. B. Yeltsin's policy speech contained nothing fundamentally new compared with his past speeches. There were the usual rebukes for the Supreme Soviet and the "partocracy," and arguments about factions in the soviets. Each group member should clearly determine his own position, Boris Nikolayevich suggested.

What will they have to make their minds up about? First, about the idea of convening an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies, which, in some people's opinion, should be held in September to examine the question of the electoral system in the USSR. The sponsors of this idea preferred not to mention the funds that would be need to hold an additional congress and the fact that it would distract the government, which has embarked on specific work, from the resolution of urgent national economic tasks. Second, they will have to make their minds up about draft laws. B. Yeltsin and his supporters believe that laws on the party, the church, privileges, and the KGB should be examined as quickly as possible... It is hard to agree that voters are currently waiting for precisely these acts of legislation. The empty store shelves and the imbalances in the consumer market which threaten to turn into an economic collapse demand other priorities.

One other point. The internal contradictions in the idea of organizing the group are shown by a small but typical feature. The group is supposed to act as a "spur" for parliament and make it operate more quickly. But G. Burbulis, a deputy from Sverdlovsk who was present at the Cinema Center meeting, said the following in the Kremlin the other day: "In the sphere of fundamental legislation we should have more haste and less speed, moving consistently without rushing the adoption of laws. These should be backed up both economically and administratively." This idea is correct, and it shows that we should not confuse the Supreme Soviet with a racetrack...

Thus the immediate goals outlined by the group's organizers are not indisputable, to put it mildly. As for tactical means, they have not yet been discussed very distinctly. "We are an integral part of the Supreme Soviet which may become a permanent generator of ideas." But they immediately continue: "If we are rejected by the Supreme Soviet, we become an opposition, even though we proceed from the presumption of partnership with that body." It is, of course, not a question of the terms themselves—phraseology scares few people these days. But an opposition, whatever the attractive garb it may don—would in practice mean a split and a concession to the principle of confrontation. A struggle for the sake of struggle would inevitably divert efforts, minds, and energies from the resolution of the real problems facing the corps of deputies today.

That is why many of those who spoke in the Cinema Center auditorium warned that the group should not be an elitist, strictly regulated body—its doors should be open for people to enter or leave. But to what extent will a deputy's position and voice depend on the group's position? This question is not yet fully clear, and only practice will provide the answer. Although the answer will determine whether or not the fears that the group will grow into a "shadow parliament" throwing wrenches in the works of the legitimate parliament are justified.

One other point. When G. Popov, who chaired the meeting, listed the tasks which, in his view, the group should submit to the permanent deputies' commissions and committees, P. Kazachenko of Tula Oblast could only shrug:

"Gavriil Kharitonovich is not a member of our Soviet of the Union Plan and Budget Commission and has not once visited it. Not even when it discussed the problem of economic accountability in the Baltic republics. His knowledge of the economy would be very useful to us... Although, of course, it is easier to set tasks than to work."

...Before it was announced in the auditorium that Yu. Afanasyev, B. Yeltsin, V. Palm, G. Popov, and A. Sakharov had been elected cochairmen of the interregional deputies' group, some sharp operators appeared in the foyer doing a brisk trade in all kinds of samizdat leaflets. The headlines were hysterical: "Constitutional Democrats [kadet] Party Set Up!", "Call for Civil Disobedience and General Political Strike!", and "Interview With Z. Gamsakhurdia, Who Is Free Again!" One of the Georgian extremist leaders who provoked the April events in Tbilisi devoted this new interview to his thoughts on the "benefits" which allegedly await all Georgians if their republic secedes from the Soviet Union. Outside the entrance to the Cinema Center a group of people were waving multicolored flags, protesting something or other...

An elderly man standing beside me shook his head, looking in the direction of the auditorium:

"Why rock the boat if the sea's rough? Time will sort everything out, of course. As long as we do not have to pay for someone's ambitions with lost time. I am not a deputy, just a voter. I am waiting for action, not discussions."

Yes, it's too soon to assess everything and make forecasts. But I agree with that chance passerby's opinion.

Party Perestroyka, Multiparty System Viewed

PM0608171589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Konstantinovich Gorshkov and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yuriy Ivanovich Filippov, senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, by correspondent Retired Colonel Ye. Smirnov, honored cultural worker of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, under the rubric "Conversation on a Topical Subject": "The Party and Perestroyka"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The people's hopes for the success of perestroyka, the renewal of society, and the improvement of working people's lives are to a decisive extent pinned on the party's political and practical activity. It is not surprising—and the editorial mailbag is testimony to this—that the party's problems and ways of improving its work are of profound concern not just to Communists but to all Soviet people. The conversation published below between a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Konstantinovich Gorshkov and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Yuriy Ivanovich Filippov, senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, covers some of these problems.

[Smirnov] Until quite recently it was not usual to talk critically about our party. The era of democracy and glasnost has removed this unwritten ban. Moreover, public opinion has gone to the other extreme: People have begun not only to criticize the party for being unable to prevent deformations of socialism and the country's slide into a near-crisis situation, but sometimes even to altogether deny the good points in its activity in the post-Lenin period. Are these rebukes justified?

[Filippov] For decades the party was indeed beyond criticism. It was, so to speak, untouchable. The very idea that certain practical steps, much less the "general line," could possibly be wrong was seen as a heresy and an impermissible deviation from "unshakable principles." The sacralization of the party's role—that is, the turning of it into something holy—was an inalienable attribute of the dogmatic thinking not just of official party ideologues, but of many Communists too.

[Smirnov] But surely after the Stalin personality cult was exposed the situation in the party and society changed?

[Filippov] Yes, but not enough to lead to their complete democratization. Stalinist dogmas, intolerance of dissent, and adherence to authoritarian leadership methods continued to prevail—albeit in a weakened form—in political and intraparty life. The freedom of criticism and self-criticism was purely for effect. Without free exchanges of opinions and comprehensive consideration of social needs any political organization threatens to turn into a socially isolated sect. Nor did the CPSU manage to avoid a certain self-isolation from society. That is why the criticism of the party—which, incidentally, was first voiced from within its own ranks—should be deemed fair. Nor should we be surprised about "over the top" criticism, which is inevitable in such a situation.

[Smirnov] Could it be said that the critical assessment of the past has helped us to restore the full picture of party history?

[Filippov] Not yet, unfortunately. Party history, which is a complex, multifaceted, and contradictory process that cannot be broken down into black and white periods or schemas, still contains much to be explained, clarified, and reinterpreted. We can currently highlight two trends in it with complete assurance. The first is the authoritarian trend geared to unifying society with the help of any means, even the most inhuman. And the second, which is expressed by the masses of ordinary Communists, repudiates violence and is aimed at implementing social justice and other democratic values in practice. We must proceed on the basis of these two trends in assessing the party's role in the history of Soviet society. Now, in the perestroyka era, this democratic trend, which neither repression, voluntarism, nor the long years of stagnation were able to destroy, has obtained full scope for its development.

[Gorshkov] Talking about criticism, we must emphasize that it would have been more useful had it not been several decades late. Although, of course, criticism alone cannot resolve matters: We need a positive program of

action. We have now virtually rejected our former policy, and the agenda includes an analysis of present-day CPSU policy in order to avoid mistakes—both those committed in the past and those which have no counterpart in previous party history. For Communists it is above all important to recognize their personal responsibility for present-day party policy and for the success of the transformation of all aspects of society's life. This is the aim of the recently adopted CPSU Central Committee resolution on reports and elections in party organizations this year.

[Smirnov] The stagnation years led to a substantial drop in the party's prestige. People seemed ready to turn away from it and to refuse to place their trust in it, all the more so as certain disenchanted Communists had started leaving its ranks. Then suddenly the party met with such success at the recent elections of USSR people's deputies. What is going on here, in your opinion?

[Gorshkov] The prestige of the party and its leaders did indeed drop to a critical level during the stagnation years. But it is hardly right to link the overcoming of the increased crisis of confidence in the party directly with the elections of USSR people's deputies. First, the Congress itself was the result of the new party policy initiated in April 1985. Second, the election results are still not evidence that we can discuss crisis phenomena in the party in the past tense. It is true, of course, that 85 percent of deputies are Communists—that is, more than at previous elections. But their success should be put down above all to their personal qualities and prestige among the voters.

[Filippov] These comrades did not lose their heads in the unusually complex situation that arose before the elections. They started looking for practical ways out of the situation and ways thereby to restore the lost confidence in the party. For all the differences in their views on a number of fundamental problems of our development—including the fundamental question of the role and place of the CPSU in present-day society—they were united in finding genuine contacts with the people and being real mouthpieces of their interests. It should also be emphasized in talking about these elections that they showed that a political party has no everlasting guarantee of success and that its popularity, or, conversely, a drop in its prestige, will now increasingly depend on its ability to conduct a continual and equal dialogue with the masses.

[Smirnov] In order to hold such a dialogue successfully we need, of course, to know how the masses live and what they think. Are people's actual attitudes toward party activity at all levels now being studied using such democratic means as opinion polls? Or are these problems off limits to sociologists, as they were in the past?

[Gorshkov] As someone who has studied public opinion for more than 10 years, I can say that the "forbidden zones" that used to exist have largely disappeared. This also applies to party problems. In the seventies, for instance, the most that could be done in this sphere was to study the time employed by party workers and the effectiveness of various ways and means of ideological education work. Now, however, political sociology has wide-ranging opportunities for studying any aspects of intraparty relations and revealing the real prestige of party committees and their leaders in the eyes of the people. Up to and including revealing mass assessments of the activity of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the head of the government, and other members of the country's political leadership. Such things were simply unthinkable in the past.

[Filippov] It should be noted that the party leadership itself often initiates studies of public opinion on the most topical problems of perestroyka, the development of democratic processes, and party organizations' activity. One example of this was the all-union public opinion poll on the subject "Party Committees and the Renewal of Political Life" conducted at the decision of the CPSU Central Committee on the eve of the recent Central Committee conference on certain questions of party work in conditions of perestroyka. There are other examples too.

[Smirnov] Does this mean that the matter can be considered to be resolved?

[Gorshkov] Unfortunately, it is too soon to say that. Of course, there are party committees—republic, oblast, and city committees—where the study of public opinion is indeed becoming part and parcel of their political activity. At the same time, many party committees and their apparatus and leaders continue to be afraid of sociological polls and erect obstacles to them and the publication of their results. Particularly those which express people's particularly critical feelings and their dissatisfaction with the inefficiency of party workers.

It has to be admitted that the CPSU Central Committee has clearly been slow to resolve the question of the creation within the party of an integrated system for studying and taking account of public opinion. One-shot research projects, even on the most acute problems, are no longer enough. We need a well oiled, permanent mechanism for revealing the entire spectrum of opinions and feelings in all party structures. Without this it will be hard to count on party work being effective or on success in election campaigns.

[Smirnov] Sociological research data and, incidentally, our entire life in conditions of perestroyka, democracy, and glasnost, attest to a wide divergence in people's opinions, representing the interests not just of individuals but of various social strata, groups, and classes. Since these interests do not coincide and, to a certain extent, are even mutually exclusive, it seems that we have grounds for setting up other parties. So why does the CPSU oppose a multiparty system in our country?

[Gorshkov] Many people today tend to view the multiparty system as virtually a panacea for all social ills. Yet the multiparty system by no means always ensures the kind of democracy capable of curing such ills. In our conditions a powerful incursion of huge masses of people into the complex world of political relations—a world that was long accessible only to the "initiated"—could lead, given the clear lack of the proper political standards and sense of justice, to society becoming destabilized and even ungovernable. That is why the CPSU and its leadership, without considering the retention of the one-party system to be an end in itself, are using the real political power of a single party to ensure the most painless conditions for democratizing power and social life as a whole.

[Smirnov] You mean that the situation in society now is such that we cannot afford such risky experiments—whatever ultrademocratic slogans they may be camouflaged with?

[Filippov] Precisely. No party has ever been able to solve all political tasks at a stroke. Cavalry charges demanding "Give us a multiparty system!" are by no means an irreproachable way of making democratic transformations irreversible. Intolerance and aggressive maximalism, which are only likely to produce undesirable excesses, should give way to sensible compromise—the most important means of social policy in all developed democracies. As for the CPSU, as a working class party which has become a party of all the people striving to reflect all the actual diversity of interests in society, it should constantly learn the difficult art of such compromise.

[Gorshkov] The party's present-day ideology is the ideology of socialism that is undergoing renewal and of interethnic and civic harmony, and the ideology of the consolidation of all progressive social forces. And in this new respect it takes account of the democratic aspirations of all social strata and groups that recognize the values of socialism and the goals of perestroyka. This general democratic basis makes it possible to solve any problems: both those inherited from the past and those produced in the course of perestroyka itself. And a great deal has already been done in this area, not least in renewing the political system. A Soviet parliament has been set up. Substantial changes are being made to legislation. A firm system of feedback has been established between the country's supreme organ of power and various strata and population groups. Political initiative from below has sharply increased.

[Filippov] The work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the country's Supreme Soviet shows that the party is no longer the sole institution for expressing the masses' political and social demands.

[Smirnov] Doesn't this mean that the party is abandoning its leading role in society's life and that its place in our political system and its relationship with other social structures are being substantially changed?

[Gorshkov] The evolving process of the real transfer of power to the soviets in no way means that the party is laying down its political powers or abandoning its leading role in society. This is unacceptable to the CPSU as the ruling party and as the main guarantor of the implementation of perestroyka and radical economic and political reform. M.S. Gorbachev clearly expressed this position at the aforementioned CPSU Central Committee conference.

What should be really discussed and what requires immediate implementation is the creation of a new and genuinely democratic mechanism for collaboration between the party and the soviets. Despite all the acuteness of the current time and the lack of the necessary legislative and cadre requirements for transferring full power to the soviets, the main thing is not to deviate from the main vector of reforming Soviet society's political system. I am referring to the clear-cut demarcation of functions between the party and the soviets: The party exercises political influence over the soviets' activity, acting above all through its members who work there, but governance and administration devolve to the soviets.

Certain party workers, incidentally, are virtually in a state of shock about this prospect, seeing it almost as wrecking the Soviet political system. Yet it is for party committee leaders and the party aktiv above all to realize the quite objective need for these new approaches and to become their leading proponents.

[Filippov] Nor, of course, can the party's previous relations with social organizations remain the same. Nowadays in this area too the methods of issuing permission or bans are intolerable, as they limit any sensible public initiative aimed at deepening and accelerating perestroyka in specific areas. But even this is not enough in the current situation. After all, things are still quiet in many social organizations—there has been no perestroyka in them. And this is despite the literally blatant social problems concerning people's vital needs. It is the direct duty of party committees to use all their political influence to ensure that trade union, All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, and other social organizations are really revived and become impassioned defenders of working people. The miners' strike is convincing evidence of the fruits of passivity in these areas.

[Smirnov] Life sometimes puts Communists in a position of having to turn a blind eye to the party statutes. When taking part in certain informal associations whose programs do not coincide with the party program, for instance. Or when voting against a candidate recommended for a certain soviet post by the party committee. So does this mean that the statutes are obsolete or is all not well with party discipline?

[Gorshkov] The statutes have, of course, become obsolete in many respects. They have been left behind by life. But this in no way means that party discipline is obsolete too. Most informal associations base their activities on

the principles of perestroyka. And in this sense any deviations from the statutes are not reprehensible. It is another matter if Communists are opposed to perestroyka or are deliberately impeding it. Then, even if they formally observe the statutes, they have essentially ceased to be Communists. As for party committee decisions, it would be expedient to proceed on the basis of specific situations. After all, by no means every decision is the result of open and democratic discussion among Communists. Some of these decisions may not reflect Communists' opinions, thereby provoking action contravening the demands of the statutes. I think that the proposals made by Communists on these and other issues of party work during the discussion currently under way will promote the strengthening of our party's democratic foundations and its renewal in the light of the demands of perestroyka.

Extent of Glasnost in Society Highlighted

PM2108160089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA executive secretary A. Druzenko: "On Glasnost, Official Business, and Other Things: Continuing the Discussion on the Topic 'The Journalist and the Times'"]

[Text] It was not only PRAVDA's 2 August item that made me think about the relationship between journalism and our stormy, troubled times. I think about it constantly. After all, life offers plenty of reasons to do so. The following pages—from my notebook—are the thoughts that occur most often. No doubt by no means all of this is beyond dispute. But we must all continue to think about the place of the press in perestroyka, and about how perestroyka affects the press itself. Together, and each of us individually.

I never thought it was so difficult to live through a second youth.

I am talking about my peers in the newspaper world, who studied at faculties of journalism and wrote their first commentaries beginning in the late fifties, after the 20th congress, during the thaw.

What times they were!

Anatoliy Agranovskiy's essays, and his creed: He who thinks well, writes well. Scathing criticism. Incredible reportages. Profound formulation of problems. Preparations for economic reform....

And all this disappeared in the quagmire of stagnation. Amorphous, inside-out times. We lost the habit of writing the truth, and grew accustomed to passing off wishes as reality. We learned to call the undeveloped developed, the stagnant—active, and the nonexistent—established. The bitter science of false enthusiasm.

And all at once—a second youth. Glasnost. Write—I don't want to....

Only it is not mainly a question of the desire, but of the ability. That is the real problem!

I keep catching myself thinking how much more difficult it is today to make a newspaper.

Although you would expect the opposite to be true—when we have changed over to glasnost. So why is it more difficult?

We have never before made a newspaper in the conditions of an officially acknowledged crisis.

The situation is fundamentally new for us. Precisely because of the recognition of the existence of a crisis by everyone, including the "upper echelons." Crisis phenomena existed before, too. But then, the opposite was declared from the highest platforms. Propaganda did not reflect the true state of affairs (and that is why the word itself became negative: They lie to you—that is "propaganda").

Do you remember the song? "Three days without sleep, 3 days of marching, for the sake of a few lines in the newspaper." Every time I heard it, I used to picture the following scene. A journalist spends 3 days making his way to the city from the forest, his strength is ebbing, he barely makes it to the editorial office, and on the threshold he manages to say his "few lines" to the janitor: Pasha dear, tell the secretariat...Bryukin's team...at the Zarechenskiy timber enterprise...has overfulfilled...the plan for the 3d quarter....

The Poles had a very apt definition of one reason for their crisis in the early eighties: **The propaganda of success**. That was when life was getting worse all the time, but the newspapers, radio, and television showed it to be getting better, richer, happier.

We went through that, too, they did it to us, too. We "went through it" for so long that we reached the end. And therefore I believe going back is impossible. The readers, viewers, and listeners are not the same now. They will not believe it any more....

So how do you make a newspaper, when you have glasnost and a crisis? Do you replace the propaganda of success with the **propaganda of failure**?

I cannot stand the expression "Criticism should be constructive." The vagueness of the formulation destroys the very concept. I could take any criticism (any one, not only by a journalist, but even, for instance, by the general secretary) and demonstrate that it is not constructive. It is an elementary ruse: They do not want to say outright "we do not need criticism," and so they say "we need constructive criticism." There was one

deputy chief editor of ours (long ago) who was always summoning the department chief and saying frankly: Dear comrade, give me material that is trenchant, but not critical....

What we need is not "constructive" criticism, but a program for emerging from the crisis. Criticism, thank heavens, exists, and let it continue to exist, for ever and ever. People want results. Results! We have criticized the notorious administrative system so much that you would think we had pulled it to pieces. But no, it is alive and well and it is ruining the country. So you cannot defeat it with criticism alone.

Life has gotten worse....

We have said that already. What next?

We write so much about other people's autonomy, but we ourselves....

Today foreign colleagues are frequent visitors to the editorial office. They come and ask us about perestroyka. A typical question is—what kind of leadership do we have? That is, do they still "lead us by the hand," or do we lead ourselves now?

Before, of course, there were more directives. And more of them concerned trivialities. Sometimes we would be studying the plan for an issue, and the industrial department would suggest a "podval" [long theoretical article]—on, say, the problems of breeding silkworms. Even the chief would be a bit surprised: A government newspaper, and all of a sudden we write about silkworms, and at such length, why, what for? He would look in the direction of the department editor, who would murmur: There was a request. And that was it. And no one would ask, whose request? Some Central Committee instructor in charge of the silk industry could call you. Another instructor would be responsible for liming the soil, a third for oil refining, a fourth for building schools, a fifth...a tenth.... And every one of them could call you and give a directive—not from himself, from instructor so-and-so, but on behalf of the Central Committee, and just try ignoring it. That is "directive" journalism for you....

There is less of that now, far less. The "hot line" telephones no longer ring on the desks of the collegium members and deputy chief editors. But does that mean that we are autonomous now? No, not yet.

The nature of the newspaper is still influenced by exclusively subjective factors. Including how bold the chief editor is, how principled the editorial collegium is, and so forth. One cunning principle of the command and directive system persists, couched in a ringing phrase: Be responsible for your task! As applied to the chief editor, that means: If you fail, we will replace you. Logical enough, it would seem. The only snag is, who decides whether you have failed. It is not the subscribers, not the editorial collective, it is decided somewhere else, up above. And so they still often replace people "on the quiet...."

Not to mention our economic autonomy. Economic accountability is still as far away from us as the sky is from the earth. Only recently the very mention of the possibility of this relationship—"ideology and economic accountability"—was regarded as blasphemous. Now, things seem to have gotten moving. At least people have started talking openly about such a possibility. But at the moment—as in many other things—it is more talk than anything else.

And in practice? Everything is strictly controlled: the wage fund, the fees fund, paper quotas....

We produce a considerable profit, running into many millions, but what of it? Although, if we had our own allocations and could use them freely, perhaps we ourselves would resolve the eternal problem of paper. How? We would cooperate with other editorial offices, find a sponsor, I am sure we could create new newsprint production capacities far more quickly than through the traditional state capital investments....

I have nothing to say about wages and fees. How much autonomy you have is reflected in the wages....

Official business is a mirror reflecting the old thinking.

Thin newspapers—four pages, six at best—are overflowing with official materials. Speeches, resolutions, accounts of conferences, reports on receptions, meetings and sendoffs at the airport, TASS statements—all this swamps our pages. A particular nuisance is the official materials that are published everywhere—in central, sector, republican, and oblast newspapers. When you consider that the reports have already been transmitted on radio and television, the absurdity of this "going over old ground" is obvious....

Official business is "assigned" via TASS. Although it is not, of course, TASS that gives the instructions: The agency is used as a channel of communication. But who is behind each instruction—no one knows. Although the directives are very specific: A given newspaper is to print a given official report at a given length. Editorial offices regard this as being in the nature of things: Failing to fulfill a directive is all but sacrilege.

In fact, we ourselves find it hard to make up our minds to act in our own way. It happens, of course, but rarely, very rarely....

For many years, on New Year's Eve, the newspapers used to print a message of congratulations to the Cuban leaders on the anniversary of the Cuban revolution. The instructions were to print the congratulations on the front page, and it always looked rather odd. It is the New Year, we

provide a colorful poster, next to it a message of congratulations to the Soviet people, and in the corner—a telegram to the Cuban leaders. This year, we at IZVESTIYA made up our minds—we would put the message on the fourth page, the international page. And nothing happened. They did not close down the newspaper, the foundations of Soviet-Cuban relations did not crumble....

That should happen more often. Otherwise we are using our pages to call on people to abandon the stereotypes of the old thinking, yet we ourselves appear to be waiting for the directive to come: "Abandon stereotypes!..."

Our passion for official photographs is particularly imponderable. How many times I remember the same thing happening in my career as a journalist. Even in IZVESTIYA in the early sixties, we felt we were quite independent then, but even then a press photographer would come running into the planning meeting with pictures from the Kremlin or from Vnukovo, and immediately everything was set aside, the pictures were put on the table, and the highly esteemed leaders of the government newspaper, headed by Adzhubey himself, would examine them very carefully to see whether everything was as it should be with Nikita Sergeyevich's face, whether the comrades were standing next to him in the right order, whether a candidate member was in front of a member, and the members themselves—whether they were correctly deployed, according to the unwritten ranking.

Times changed, leaders changed, chief editors changed, but the indefatigable press photographer would still spread out the pictures, and responsible people would examine equally thoroughly the face of Leonid Ilich and the order of those standing next to him. The same happened with Yuriy Vladimirovich, and, naturally, with Konstantin Ustinovich. And even now there are plenty of official photographs, and the "outward appearance" of the officials is studied in the same way, and care is taken to see that everything is as it should be....

True, the Congress of People's Deputies (and then the Supreme Soviet session) shook our inclination toward officialese to some extent. There are more and more photographs that are informal, as they call it, and not retouched. Less and less—at last!—reverence before the presidium, the chairman, the premier, the ministers....

Although this is, I believe, only a beginning. A timid beginning. Official business still weighs us down. When we plan the issue in the secretariat, we have misgivings: What if there is a conference. And a Politburo member speaks. And that means (it is assigned!)—eight pages, and our plans—down the drain.... And it does not matter whether or not 11 million subscribers are interested in the speech. The directive is to print eight pages, no more and no less. And perhaps someone's speech is worth publishing in full?

There is only one way out of the vicious "official" circle: The editorial offices themselves should decide which official material to print, in what form, and in what quantity. And that is all there is to it....

It was not perestroyka that discovered glasnost (perestroyka uses it).

People were writing about the need for glasnost even in the years of stagnation. Anatoliy Agranovskiy, for instance. In 1966 he went to a big city, where they had begun construction work on a vacant lot in a new housing district. Agranovskiy asked the local residents what was being built. "An apartment block for the bosses," he was told. "Do you know for sure?" "That is what they say...." It turned out not to be an apartment block for the bosses, but a public garden. This was the origin of the essay "The Vacant Lot," which said in black and white: We need glasnost, we need truthful information about life.

They printed the essay. But they did not listen to its author....

I believe we perceive glasnost "arithmetically." We have divided life into "zones," and we calculate: They have spoken about one already, the only drop hints about another, they are silent about a third.

Some American publishers once visited the editorial office. One of them kept trying to find out why it was 3 days before the Chernobyl accident was reported. Everyone tried to explain to him what the point was. He seemed to be satisfied by the arithmetical explanation, namely: At that time the level of glasnost in our country was "minus 3 days."

But if we are calculating it in that way, this means we still have a long way to go to full glasnost. And it will be full glasnost when the very concept disappears (goes out of use—because it is no longer needed), when the very possibility of concealing something, hushing it up, keeping it secret from the people, disappears....

For the time being, we still have to define the level of glasnost. Especially since from year to year, month to month, and day to day it is changing, and the level is not only rising—sometimes it falls, too.

"We need a Law on the Press...."

We have been repeating that phrase like an incantation for several years. Apparently everyone agrees, but there is still no law.

It is strange, but the drafting of a law of which the spirit and letter must be literally permeated with glasnost is being conducted in a kind of atmosphere of semi-glasnost. First there was talk of a draft prepared, so to speak, on an official basis, then an alternative version appeared, but neither was really discussed. A new draft

was prepared. The "author"—a working party of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order and Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals. I do not know to what extent journalists participated in the preparation of the draft. But they will be able to demonstrate their interest in the course of the discussion. It is to be hoped that this will be wide, open, and democratic.

If you walk along Tverskiy Avenue (toward the Journalists' Institute, which is endlessly undergoing renovation), you can stop by a display window where not only central, but also republican newspapers are on display. Stop and look. Notice how similar our newspapers are! In both form and content. They are far more uniform than our life is today.

So we have to catch up with life. Will the law help?

Soviet Historian Afanasyev on New Opposition

AU0708163489 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 7 Aug 89 p 110

[Interview with Soviet historian Yuriy Afanasyev by unidentified reporter: "Radicalization of Perestroyka"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Afanasyev, you are one of the founders of the new "supraregional deputies groups." What political goals do you pursue?

Afanasyev: We clearly defined our goal at the foundation meeting: Radicalization and deepening of perestroyka. The task is to accelerate the decisions that are priorities for us.

I think—and perhaps not everybody will agree with me—that perestroyka has been weakened in many areas and has not yet begun in others. Perestroyka has either lost its original essence or has never taken shape. That leads to halfhearted and contradictory political action, with the consequence that policy follows events, instead of thinking in advance—something that should not happen, I think.

DER SPIEGEL: Does the group view itself as a regular opposition?

Afanasyev: Not everybody sees it this way. I think that we are or can become an opposition. There is nothing bad about that, it is quite normal and indispensable. Opposition does not mean enmity. It is rather a complementary factor, an alternative. Some people accuse us of causing splits. However, both the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies had already split before our group existed. It is a consequence of the splitting, not the cause. Take the deputies' apparatus, for example. It has already split. There are so many opinions and currents; that is something very normal.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you think it is possible that your group is an initial step to a multiparty system?

Afanasyev: The general course of things will lead to that. However, we note this development not only here. Take the people's front movements, for example, that have emerged everywhere, in Moscow, Leningrad, and in the Baltic republics. They are also a movement in the direction of a multiparty system. Even in the CPSU there are people with very different views who are allowed to express themselves. It may be that the CPSU remains the only party for the time being; however, different currents will take shape in it, which may become groups.

DER SPIEGEL: One of the points that were addressed at the foundation meeting was the improvement of the deputies' status. How does a deputy work?

Afanasyev: Again, I can only talk about myself. The working conditions are bad. Voters turn to me with all their concerns. The people's main problems are housing, the search for a job, health, old age pensions. They all meet at one point: The indifference of arch-reactionary bureaucracy on all levels. The people are discouraged, disappointed, and angered. Of course, it is very difficult for a deputy to fulfill all the wishes that he hears at every meeting where the voters present dozens of requests.

DER SPIEGEL: Should such complaints not be addressed to the local authorities?

Afanasyev: Of course, they should. However, if these authorities have been inactive for decades, and are still lazy because they do not know what their future will be following the upcoming local elections, the people either go to their people's deputy who is often not physically able not to cope with everything. I received about 1,500 letters and cables alone.

DER SPIEGEL: How do you explain this flood?

Afanasyev: In the USSR, 40 million people—maybe even more—live below the subsistence level. That is depressing.

DER SPIEGEL: What does your group intend to do about this need?

Afanasyev: We have been brought together by the realization that the current policy does not meet the people's needs. We believe that more far-reaching measures must be taken. Policy in all areas must become more intensive and more radical. We are accused of intending to acquire a strong image; however, such accusations are irrelevant. People say that we have very lofty goals, and that is correct. We want a democratic society, instead of a totalitarian system.

Katyn Forest Incidents Investigated

PM2108153089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32 6 Aug 89 p 15

[Gennadiy Zhavoronkov article: "Secrets of Katyn Forest"]

[Text] The mass shootings of Polish officers and Soviet citizens are still kept secret.

We had many calls from readers in response to our article "Katyn: confirm or refute" (MN [MOSCOW NEWS] No 21) about the several thousand Polish officers shot near Smolensk in the early 1940s. The callers asked if we were aware that Katyn Forest was not only where the Polish officers were shot, and not only where 135,000 Soviet POWs were shot during the German occupation, but also where untold thousands of Stalin's victims were shot beginning in 1935. We were not aware. So we sent a reporter to investigate.

Investigative Report

The truth wasn't difficult to discover. The punitive bodies in those years didn't advertise their activities but neither did they make special efforts to conceal them. Fear helped them in their work, making beasts out of humans and turning some of them into willing informers.

The terrible war that swept this land was preceded by a war of the punitive organs against their own people. After that some people "emigrated" to plough up the virgin lands, to build great and not so great projects.

Then there was a time when people were not allowed to remember. Today only a handful of people remain who witnessed the events of the 1930s. And most refused to tell what they remembered as they cast apprehensive glances at Katyn Forest, still behind a barbed-wire fence even today.

Leonid Kotov, social sciences lecturer at the Smolensk Physical Education Institute:

In the 1960s, when I was writing a book on the underground resistance in Smolensk during the German occupation I first heard that mass shootings had occurred in Katyn Forest right up until the war. Beginning in the 1930s, NKVD camps dotted the length of the road between Minsk and Moscow. At that time this strategic road needed to be rebuilt. Using only spades and wheelbarrows, tens of thousands of prisoners worked from dawn to dusk. The offenders and the sick were carted away to Katyn Forest. It was rumoured at first to be a health resort for the Cheka. But the trucks rumbling there and back suggested otherwise. Still, no one dared to go there and find out.

Katyn Forest today is still a forbidding place. Few venture near it. Some brave souls, however, went there even in those awful times. They were children. Barefoot and hungry, they fearlessly roamed the place knowing full well they'd be severely punished if caught.

Zinaida Merkulenko, former resident of the Kozi Gory District:

I went into the zone for mushrooms and berries only after the war. The strawberries there were big and sweet: I've never seen anything like them since. But I was afraid to go deep into the forest. I was more afraid of the dogs than the guards. They were huge and vicious and could tear you to bits.

Bigger kids, even before the war, went far into the forest. They told me they saw trucks bringing people who were then shot. When the trucks went away, villagers would dig up the pits to retrieve the boots and clothes from the dead.

What else could they do with all the poverty around them? Some of the boots they brought back were real boxcalf, the kind issued only to ranking Army officers.

Sometimes the kids found pits with bodies still stirring in them because the killers had left in a hurry to collect the next contingent of victims. The pits were deep but the bodies were barely covered with soil. The shootings were done by men wearing helmetlike masks.

I don't know how often the trucks came there. No one counted. Now few witnesses remain. Some died, others left the place. Try to ask people around the Kozi Gory. You may find someone, but I doubt it.

Aleksandr Kosinskiy, Finnish War and WWII veteran, resident of Sofiyevka:

This was the site of the Vyazemlag camp. Its inmates were trucked to somewhere near Krasnoye and reportedly shot. At the time I worked at the Grain Procurement office next to the Katyn railway station. Box cars with people arrived and prison vans took them straight to the forest.

I didn't hear the shots. Go to Gnezdovo, the village is closer to the forest, and they may know more.

Mikhail Krivozertsev, resident of Genezdovo

Even before the war, there was a lot of talk about shootings in Katyn Forest. Expecially about the burial sites in Krasnyy bor. They say a special military unit was quartered there.

What I personally saw and know is this. In 1943, Ivan Andreyev and Fedor Kuftikov told the Germans that they knew where our troops had shot the poles. Kuftikov was especially eager to help. He had been captured by the Nazis during WW1 and learned a bit of German. I think he wanted to be appointed the village elder or something.

The Germans got together several poor devils like me and took us to the forest. There they gave each man a glass of vodka and told him to start digging. It wasn't the lousy German staff but our genuine staff that they had stolen here.

Well, each man got a glass, but not me. So I said to the German interpreter: "Why didn't you give me any vodka?" And he said: "Because your brothers are fighting against us." Then I said: "The hell with you. I'm not going to do any digging sober."

So I didn't dig. First they pulled out 18 bodies of our evangelists. They had felt boots, not their feet but tied together with strings and slung over their shoulders, and crammed with fatback and dry bread. I say they were evangelists because my father was an evangelist. When they came to arrest him, he took out his felt boots and stuffed some fatback and bread into them, thinking he'd be deported to the North. Those in the pit must have thought the same.

So, they dug up those 18 and after that 300 bodies of Poles. Our evangelists' bodies had been on top. The Germans ordered them to be buried separately. Then the men started digging another grave. Deep down they found more clothes... ladies' boots. The digging stopped here and the 18 were buried in this mass grave.

Then the Germans built a shed and put caldrons inside. They used hot water to wash the skulls, then studied the position and the wounds. They did a thorough analysis of all 300 bodies.

Ivan Kiselev, Gnezdovo resident:

Trucks with bodies started arriving in Katyn Forest from the direction of Smolensk as early as 1935, I don't know where they had been shot. There wasn't barbed wire at that time. Those who went there for berries could see the prepared pits and the ones already filled in. They made no secret of it then. The fence appeared later but you can't conceal everything. They started to cover up the pits with turf and to plant trees. But tell me, why plant grass and young pines in a forest? [Kiselev ends]

Some shared their memories readily, others with reserve. Some dated the events more or less precisely, while others were way off. Some facts matched, while others contradicted each other. Some of the stories resembled tales. Like the one about a man named Petrov who burst into the NVKD headquarters one morning before the war and insisted he hadn't done anything wrong and that he had been shot by mistake. It was discovered that he had been on the list of those sentenced to be shot, but hadn't died, only stayed unconscious for a long time. When he came to in Katyn Forest, he burrowed out of the pit and made tracks to the town. Embarrassed by the absurd situation, the NKVD, men issued him new identity papers in the name of Ivanov and packed him off out of the region.

Did that really happen? Why not? While none of the older locals doubted there had been mass shootings in Katyn, some may doubt these stories, saying that if there were no records, then nothing had happened. A short time ago this sort of arguement amounted to the strictest veto here. How to separate fact from fantasy and make the truth, however horrible, a legitimate part of our history?

No documents could be unearthed even with the cooperation of the head of the regional KGB anatoliy Sheverskikh. All we could find were thin (three or four sheets) files of those convicted by the "troika" marked "To be kept forever". They contained brief life stories of common workers, peasants and clergy, members of the "monarchist alliance of the clergy", people who have already been rehabilitated or will be. Sheverskikh couldn't find any traces of the mysterious military unit that was stationed in the forest or any records of the burials. There were some attempts to cover up the traces, or perhaps some documents were destroyed after many years. Indeed, they were not stamped "To be kept forever".

Still not all the documents have disappeared. Here is one of them found during the Krushchev "thaw" when former investigators and executioners were called to account. People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of Belorussian Nasedkin was shot in 1939 for the organization of mass repressions (i.e., for being part of the apparatus of Nikolay Yezhov, former head of the NKVD in Moscow). Nasedkin was head of the NKVD in the Smolensk Region in 1937. He testified: "4,500 people in the Smolensk Region were given first degree sentences (i.e., were sentenced to be shot) during 1937."

This during 1937 alone! Trucks started to arrive to Katyn Forest in 1935, and not just from the Smolensk Region. They were still coming in 1938 and up to 1941. All the bodies couldn't have been buried in the prison graveyards. There were none large enough.

Another piece of evidence is the burial sites. Some people recognized their value much earlier than we did. During the last year alone, three people in Smolensk were convicted of digging up graves to rob them. There must be many others who were not caught. Katyn Forest should not be a mystery any more. It should be turned into the cemetery, that it is, where lying there side by side are Russians, Jews, Poles, and Latvians. Victims of an unheard-of heinous crime.

Sociologists Discuss 'Death Throes' of Communism

PM0308105089 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 1 Aug 89 p 15

[Sandro Viola dispatch: "Communism Is Dying, Killed by the Reforms"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—[passage omitted] Nobody expected that the plan to change the Soviet system would produce such chaos. Of course, it was not the attempt itself that

produced the abrupt collapse of social organization: shortages in extremely poor areas, large numbers of prostitutes, the frightening crime wave, ethnic troubles, and the chorus of "voices" (on the instability of the political authorities, on real or alleged uprisings in various parts of the big country, on an imminent currency collapse) which is the characteristic sign of a regime's disintegration.

In other words, it was not Gorbachev who created the causes of the collapse. Everything had been rotten for a long time. But perestroyka took the lid off the box, and sickening and deadly fumes are now escaping from the box. "It is a unique crisis," sociologist Mikhail Bestuzhev-Lada said: "There are no barricades yet, no shots are being fired. But the atmosphere is even more dramatic than it was between February and October 1917.... And I sometimes think that the results could be even more dramatic than they were then." [passage omitted]

It is not just Bestuzhev-Lada who talks about barricades. At the Institute of Sociology, Gennadiy Batigin spoke in rather similar terms. "For 3 years I have tried to find out whether or not there is mass support for perestroyka, and I now feel I can conclude that it does not exist. For decades the Russian people lived in a cage over which there was a big dark cover. That is, until somebody removed the cover, and from the cage they saw the world as it is. This showed our backwardness, our shortages, and—outside—other countries' development and prosperity. At that point, the same person who removed the big black cover also opened the cage door. But we Russians do not dare to move. We are afraid of leaving the cage, because we are afraid of losing our prison rations. This is because our deepest aspiration is this: rations, equal shares for all.... Believe me, the resistance to the economic reform that exists at the top and in the party apparatus is nothing compared with the resistance in society, among the Russian people...."

"In this country," Batigin continued, "there is a cult of poverty. It is a historical mentality that was later called egalitarianism and which permeated the whole of Russian history. Individual wealth has always been regarded as a kind of perversion, a social disease. If you look at Yeltsin's success during the election campaign and at his current popularity, you see that the theme and slogan followed by millions of people was an attack on the nomenklatura's privileges. The Russian people aspire to a community of equals—even if it is only a gulag—in which everybody receives the same amount of food and clothing. We are not used to working, and the few people who find the energy to do so are viewed with bitterness and suspicion. The most dangerous social tensions today stem from the failure of the attempt to build an egalitarian community. And this produces anger—an increasingly worrying anger. As Pushkin wrote, and he knew the people, 'revolt in Russia is always irrational and always uncompromising....'"

The concept of 'rage,' of bitterness, of widespread anger, is found constantly in every report and speech from Moscow over the path few months. There is a tide of black humor, and barely concealed aggressiveness. According to Yuriy Levada, of the Center for Public Opinion Studies: "Every rule has been broken. All ethical, political, and ideological principles have collapsed. Russia is now a kind of 'wasteland' in which the criteria on which all societies are based and controlled have entirely disappeared. Nobody imagined that the crisis would prove to be so deep. And I would like to tell you my personal view, which is certainly not a theory or even a hypothesis for study, but only a feeling, at least so far. The deepest and most destructive of all the anxieties that the Russians are experiencing is their anxiety over the empire's disintegration, their anxiety over the ethnic tensions, the clashes in the non-Russian republics, and the secessionist efforts. All this is creating a painful feeling which is a combination of injured nationalism, threatened interests, and the panic of isolation. And the consequences could be disastrous—racist reactions, the emergence of reactionary attitudes and behavior...."

In the spring, I had a series of conversations with some non-Russian academics on the crisis in communism. The diagnoses were gloomy, and the prognoses were not optimistic. But now that I reconsider them from Moscow, those conversations strike me almost as an idyllic interlude and recognition, from a great distance, of the scale and aspects of the crisis. In Poland and Hungary, communism is dying in different ways, with less upheaval, at least for the time being. But in Russia, the death throes are taking on daunting aspects. Away from here, in Europe and in America, people are talking about the nature of postcommunism and what form it will take. But in Moscow the impression is that nobody can think about the future any longer.

"Is has now become difficult even to agree on what socialism is or has been," Sergey Sheyn of the European Institute said. "Go see our most eminent political scientists and you will find that nobody is capable of answering. At this point there are only two things which are certain. The first is that since Lenin's death we have had nothing but oppression and shortages. We have had no democracy, no intelligence or competence in the management of the economy, and we have had the rhetorical proclamation of ideals which the whole system fundamentally denied. And the second certainty is that nobody—not even those who are leading the plan for change—has the slightest idea about the developments which the plan might produce...." [passage omitted]

Changes in Trade Union Draft Law Proposed

18280274 Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by N. Grineva: "'Cosmetics' Will Not Suffice"]

[Text] Despite the fact that perestroyka in trade unions is occurring significantly slower than life requires, we have already begun, nonetheless, to get accustomed to the fact that meetings of a trade union body can be both stormy and interesting—and very effective. The expanded session of the presidium of the central committee of the

railroad transport and transport construction workers trade union was exactly this kind of a session. It considered two drafts: the Law on the Rights of Trade Unions of the USSR and the Law on Trade Unions of the USSR.

In considering the draft that was submitted by the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], the railroad workers actively joined in literally from the very first days after the draft was published. Comments and additions from the trade union organizations were sent to the central committee of the trade union, where a special group was engaged in summarizing them. More than 7,000 persons spoke at trade union meetings in railroad collectives, and dozens of people took part in discussions of the draft on the pages of the sector's newspaper GUDOK.

A majority of the discussion participants agree that the draft law is overloaded with general phrases, that it is not specific, that it is divorced from reality, and, chiefly, that it reflects the protective function of trade unions poorly. And that "cosmetics" will not be of any help here.

"And then," says I. Shinkevich, chairman of the trade union's central committee, "we established two subgroups: One assembled the remarks on the published draft, and the other developed its own, so to say, alternative version of the draft Law on Trade Unions. The results of the work of both groups were preliminarily presented to the participants of the enlarged session..."

In the opinion of a majority of them, an attempt could be seen in the AUCCTU-developed draft to preserve the supremacy (if not the diktat) of the central trade union organs. This kind of an orientation is illogical today—we think of the processes in economic life: decentralization of control, independence of enterprises, and regional cost accounting... In addition, the usual declarations in many of the articles are also skipped over.

"We proceeded first of all from the fact that it was necessary to examine the draft law in close connection with the urgent tasks of the country, with perestroyka," said A. Chernomaz, the chairman of the commission on the development of the new draft and the chairman of the dorprofsozh [roadway committee of the railroad transport workers trade union] of the Donetsk line. "The situation now is such that the legislative proposals continue not to succeed because of changes in the situation and events in society. And one should not be overly detached from this..."

What does the new draft represent—at least in a general way?

First of all, as the railroad workers believe, the initial position is different. It is that the trade unions are an independent (and not simply an independent activity) public organization of workers, an equal link in the political system that carries its share of responsibility for the condition of the country.

In the very first article of the draft the railroad workers propose broadening the social base of trade unions. The right to join trade unions is stipulated for workers and employees of mixed joint stock enterprises and for persons engaged in individual labor activity, and for pensioners and dependents of trade union members. Each industrial trade union works up and approves its own program and regulations, it determines its structure, and it elects its management organs.

The draft provides for the creation of interindustry federations for more effective protection of their interests. Cooperation by the trade unions with state, economic, and also public organs is clearly defined on an equal and partnership basis... It is proposed to transfer social security to state organs as a function that is not inherent in a public organization.

The draft also has this kind of an article: "The right of trade unions to an independent personnel policy."

Heated arguments at the meetings of the railroad collectives called forth questions connected with the organization of trade union socialist competition and summing up its results. As a result, the new draft in general excludes this direction of activity of trade unions as not being inherent in them and, moreover, that it has actually discredited itself.

The protection of former trade union workers after the end of their authority in an elective post was more specifically stipulated: the procedure for getting work, privileges, and discharge during the entire period of work at a given enterprise is only with the concurrence of the higher-standing trade union organ.

New processes that have appeared in the labor movement and strikes have greatly increased the demands of the workers on the positions taken by their trade unions. This is taken into account in the new draft, and the right of the profkom [trade union committee] to call a strike is defined. A principally new approach to the authority of the trade unions to assure the rights of citizens to work is also stipulated in an article of the new draft. Provisions are made here for a realistically increasing capability for the protection of the interests of the worker. A separate article talks about the responsibility of officials for violations of the rights of trade unions...

"The right of trade unions must be strengthened by the duties of state organs," noted L. Solonskiy, chairman of the dorprofsozh of the Kuybyshev department, in his speech. And the statement by V. Tkachev, chairman of the rayprofsozh [rayon committee of the railroad transport workers trade union] of the Odessa department of the Odessa rail line, amplifies this somewhat: "For the rights to be real, it is necessary to stipulate the 'behavior' of the administrative and party organs more clearly. For example, on the strike question, we must be confident that measures will not be taken against the trade unions on the part of the party apparatus..."

Besides the technical and legal inspection, it is proposed to conduct an inspection on the protection of health and ecology, with the status of a technical inspector and with all rights provided for in the draft.

One of the paragraphs of the article gives trade unions the right, independently or jointly with other organs, to establish enterprises, cooperatives, and other associations. In discussions on this paragraph, quite a few proposals were made on the creation of enterprises by trade unions for the production of model special clothing and artificial limbs.

One cannot help but agree with the idea of N. Pavlyuk, chairman of the dorprofsozh of the Moscow line. He showed convincingly in his speech that not only the published draft, but even the current trade union regulations—and trade union workers must be guided by them in their activity—do not respond to today's situation. This means that simultaneously with the work on the draft law, it will also be necessary to undertake an examination of the provisions in the regulations...

Undoubtedly, the draft law on trade unions that was developed by the railroad workers can also arouse serious arguments. But, nonetheless, one can agree with M. Nagaytsev, chairman of the dorprofsozh of Mosmetrostroy [Moscow Metro Construction Administration], who said: "Of course, this is not a standard, but our draft is filled with principal ideas, and the specialists have "food" for "work."

One thing is unquestionable: A majority of the participants in the discussion on the drafts of the law are not indifferent to the future fate of the trade unions.

The expanded session of the presidium of the central committee of the trade unions approved a decision to submit the elaborated draft to the AUCCTU as an alternative document.

Bank Representatives Propose Gold Bank Accounts

LD2108141289 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Representatives of the Soviet banks have discussed at their meeting in the city of Yaroslavl on the Volga the problems of stabilizing the home market, overcoming inflation, and reforming the financial system. What aggravates the situation today is the rapid growth of cash incomes of the population and the shortage of commodities in the shops. It was suggested as one way of dealing with the problem having gold bank accounts. The people will put their money in accounts and the government owned savings banks and interest will increase depending on the level of inflation. Specialists believe that this will prompt people to put their money on bank accounts and that will ease the unsatisfied demand for commodities.

Seminar Held on Restructuring Political Studies

PM0408084189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "On Path of Renewal"]

[Text] Current questions of deepening the restructuring of the political studies system as a component of the ideology of renewal are being discussed at an all-union seminar-conference that opened on 26 July in Moscow. The following are taking part in it: secretaries and heads of union republic communist party central committee ideological departments, and kray, oblast, city, and rayon party committees; heads of party committee political education houses and study facilities; propagandists; leaders of the mass media; and senior officials of a number of ministries and departments.

A.S. Kapto, head of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, delivered the report at the seminar-conference.

There was a broad exchange of opinions on progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Restructuring the System of the Working People's Political and Economic Education," the reasons for negative tendencies and phenomena were revealed, and specific measures on deepening the perestroyka processes were outlined. The discussion at the seminar-conference focused on questions of radically renewing the content of study, mastering, and applying of modern study methods; deepening and utilizing effectively the material base of party committee political education houses and study facilities; democratization; and raising the standard of party leadership in this important section of CPSU ideological activity.

Proceeding from the party's new place in society and the formation of its modern complexion, ways were determined to increase the role of Marxist-Leninist education in party organizations' mastering of political methods of leadership, and to ensure CPSU members' ideological unity. Measures have been outlined to step up the activity of political education houses in conditions of the politicization of the masses, and their growing social activity.

Round tables have been held on problems of consolidating the Soviet multinational state, on the contemporary state of the Soviet economy and prospects for its development, deepening political reform, and preparing people's deputies for elections to the local soviets.

New Environmental Chairman Views Programs

18300765 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Professor N. Vorontsov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection: "For Us and Our Posterity"]

[Text] **Nikolay Nikolayevich Vorontsov is a new person in the government. Until now he has been known in the country and abroad as an outstanding scholar of evolution,**

zoology, and genetics. He is the author of 400 scientific works, many of which have been translated and published abroad. He has been the leader and a participant in 41 biological expeditions. He has worked in various regions of the country: in the Far East, the Komi Republic, Leningrad, Altay, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Kolyma, and Transcaucasia.

His biography is the struggle for advanced science, particularly for genetics during the time of Lysenko's monopoly. During the fifties he was the initiator of the youth movement begun in Leningrad for the protection of nature. He has not abandoned these positions and he has first been placed in high organizational posts and then removed from them.

N.N. Voronov was born in 1934. He is not a party member. He is married and has two children. At 33 he received his doctorate in zoology. He was elected a USSR People's Deputy by scientific societies.

We can finally say with confidence that the significance of problems of the protection of nature has been recognized by our society. Now this is a cluster of social problems. The ecology is being taken up by numerous social movements which one must take into account. The ecology crucially affects the interests of the people since it is also linked to the protection of the health of the present generation, the preservation of the gene pool, the genetic health of future generations, the food program, and industrial construction. Our country is a part of the biosphere of the entire planet and the protection of nature in our country is closely connected to international policy. Compared to other countries, we are very late in approaching these problems in our day.

This is a difficult business. In addition to enthusiasm and common sense, it requires general culture and a precise knowledge of the laws of nature. The problem ecologists are encountering now and which the USSR Goskomprirodа [State Committee for Environmental Protection] must address in order to achieve the hoped-for results is the need to raise the level of knowledge and ecological thinking.

I must go into the history. This is important in order to understand the principles of the upbringing of the generation that is now most active and holds leading posts at various levels and the dogma that nourished those tens of millions of people who are over 35 and under 66. I give this precise upper limit because those who are over 70 still recall the flourishing of ecology in our country. At the beginning of the century we were among the first countries of the world to create preserves. Moritssala in Latvia (1911), Lagodekhi in Georgia (1912), Barguzinskiy on Baykal, and Kedrovaya Pad in the Far East were the first ones.

V.I. Lenin signed a decree concerning the organization in 1919 of the Astrakhan preserve and in 1920 the Ilmen in the Urals. A committee for preserves was created and headed by one of Lenin's advisers, P.G. Smidovich. Smidovich and his closest assistant, V.N. Makarov, enlisted the most eminent specialists to discuss the plans for the creation of a network of preserves. Among them was a scientist who was known throughout the scientific world—P.P. Semenov-Tyan-Shanskiy. The level of development of domestic ecology during those years was extraordinarily high. Suffice it to mention V.I. Vernadskiy, who developed the science of the biosphere. The brilliant Moscow ecologist G.F. Gauze when he was 19-24 years old conducted a series of classical experiments to study the struggle for existence. His monograph was published in 1934 in the United States and repeatedly reprinted abroad in a series entitled "Classics of Science." But it will not come out in Russian until 1990 (Nauka Press), 3 years after the author's death. Incidentally neither Gauze nor any of the other outstanding ecologists of that generation was elected to the USSR Academy of Sciences.

At the time the level of domestic ecology was such that even now in the United States doctoral dissertations are being defended and monographs are being written about this period in the history of Soviet science. In 1988 a professor at Arizona State University, Douglas Wiener, published a special book on the history of the protection of nature in the USSR from 1920 to the 1940's and essentially revealed to us the world preeminence of our ecologist V.V. Stanchinskiy in the development of a theory of the protection of nature. Working at that time were such classical figures in ecology as V.N. Beklemishev, A.N. Formozov, D.N. Kashkarov, and V.V. Alpatov. Yes, our science and practice at that time held just as high a position in the world as genetics did under N.I. Vavilov.

After 1948 the ideologist of the Lysenko persuasion, I. Prezent, advanced a speculative slogan to the effect that it was absurd to protect nature from the Soviet man, and our entire beautiful system of preserves was destroyed. On Beria's recommendation, the forester A. Malinovskiy was placed in charge of preserves. The area of preserves was reduced from 0.56 percent of the dry land to 0.06 percent—and only 40 of the 128 preserves remained.

I.D. Papanin with his typical impassivity tried through K.Ye. Voroshilov to halt this process. But the loggers of the Ministry of the Timber Industry headed by G. Orlov, a close friend of Beria's (later he was one of the initiators of the plan to construct the Baykal paper pulp combine), had already invaded the enticing forest preserves. The second blow to the preserves was dealt in 1961 and we have spent decades restoring them.

Right up until 1967 biology was replaced in our schools by Lysenko pseudoscience. They canonized the words of I.V. Michurin concerning the need to accept nature's kindness. Progress was associated with smokestacks,

tons of mined coal and smelted steel, and millions of kilowatts of electric energy. The cult of urbanism and technocracy that sprung up during the First 5-Year Plan is still alive to this day.

Demography and demographic science were crowded out during those days. The idea of the finite nature of natural resources was dismissed as Malthusianism. I bring this up because to this day we do not have a concept of demographic policy that is linked to the ecology or a definition of population density that is optimal for man and the environment and is differentiated for the various regions depending on biological productivity and ecological capacity.

Without a clear understanding of the role of the organisms in the creation of past biospheres and the modern biosphere it is unthinkable to have a modern approach to the problem of the protection of nature and efficient utilization of natural resources. They have accumulated as a result of the vital activity of living organisms of past biospheres over the more than 3.5 billion years of the existence of life on earth. Temporal boundaries between the past and modern times on the planet have been erased. Today we are felling trees that were planted during the period of serfdom.

As a result of the interaction of thousands of kinds of microorganisms, fungi, green plants, and animals, the formation of the Chernozem took place. People began to cultivate it in European Russia 250-350 years ago.

By unskillful plowing (down the slope instead of perpendicular to it) a tractor driver can ruin the fertile layer of soil, whose formation took hundreds and sometimes thousands of years. Unskillful application of fertilizers and toxic chemicals entails the destruction of those kinds of soil microfauna and microflora whose disappearance is not noticed immediately, but the result can be no less lamentable than that of unintelligent plowing.

The purity of the water is the result of biogenic processes. In other words, it is the result of biological purification of small and large bodies of water, from a small puddle to the world ocean. When there were plans for a "great" diversions of the rivers of the Arctic Ocean basin into Central Asia, the circumstance was not taken into account that it would not be cubic kilometers of pure water that would be flowing through the canals; no, it would be water with plankton and larvae of tiny organisms that live on the bottom; there would be Siberian fish and with them the serious parasitic disease opisthorchosis.

The purity of the water in Lake Baykal is determined not simply by the fact that 300 relatively pure Siberian rivers flow into it. These rivers also carry sediment, chemical suspensions, and remains of dead organisms. And thank goodness for Baykal's unique fauna and flora, which carry out a process of biological self-purification and which are being studied by crank scientists who could at any moment be sent to a kolkhoz to make brooms or dismantle vegetable storehouses! And specialists like this have been trained for decades and they are worth their weight in gold throughout the world. They are goods sold by the piece, if you will. They could be placed on the honor roll... But neither they nor all the objects they study can be placed on the honor roll, and just their entry on the honor role will not save a species from destruction. All these species—from the (epishura) to the omul to man—are connected to one another by thousands of the most complicated ties which one cannot figure out even with a supercomputer nor can one model all the consequences.

Science is the main thing needed to solve problems related to the protection of nature. I have in mind not only applied research in the area of ecologically pure technologies, closed water supply systems, and so forth, but also (and mainly!) basic sciences. We must develop botany, zoology, soil science, genetics, evolutionary biology, hydrobiology, and biology of the sea. Problems of the ecological capacity for resistance of areas of land should be solved by biocenologists, geobotanists, forestry experts, and geographers.

These sciences have not been among the prestigious ones in our country for very long, but it is in these areas that we still hold a leading position in the world, although they are very poorly financed.

The burden of many years of obscurantism continues to weigh upon us, which is reflected in the ill-considered organization of affairs having to do with the protection of nature.

Even 35 years ago scientists raised the question of the need to organize a unified service for the protection of nature. Such committees were created in the republics at the end of the fifties. Only the unfortunate Russian Federation did not receive this right until 1988—after the organization of the USSR Goskompriroda. When it was created we were several decades behind and its functions have not been clearly outlined to this day. Provisions concerning the functions of the USSR Goskompriroda have not been adopted, and the administrations and institutions responsible for comprehensive utilization of water resources, inspectorates for utilization and protection of the land, the administration for monitoring environmental pollution, and so forth have not been transferred from the Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee], the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of the Fish Industry, the State Committee for Hydrometeorology, and other administrations and institutions. Hastily created institutions for the protection of nature have received many nonspecialists along with skilled specialists from the departments that have been cut. They need a thorough restructuring and the enlistment of new forces—scientists and organizers—for whom the cause of the protection of nature is not a sinecure but a vital concern. There are such people.

We should give careful consideration to the situation and position of the union and republic goskomprirodas in our state system. At the session of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet held a couple of days ago, the republic goskompriroda was taken from the republic Council of Ministers and placed under the jurisdiction of the republic Supreme Soviet. The question of placing state institutions for the protection of nature under the jurisdiction of the supreme soviets is also being discussed in other republics. Questions of the subordination of state institutions for the protection of nature are being resolved in various ways in various countries. Before making a decision we should study foreign experience attentively. Bulgaria, Poland, and the GDR have ministries for protection of the environment, and the United States, in addition to a federal environmental protection agency, has created a environmental quality council under the President. Taking into account the special functions of Goskompriroda, both executive and control-managerial, we should think about its status—perhaps it should be under the dual jurisdiction of the USSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Our cause is also being impeded by the fact that the restructuring of economic relations is meeting with resistance. Environmental pollution and a predatory attitude toward natural resources will continue until they become economically disadvantageous. This issue has long been beyond the framework of Goskompriroda, but its activity will not be effective until environmental protection becomes an element of state policy.

The financing of measures for the protection of nature in industrially developed countries exceeds 5 percent of the gross national income, and zones with ecological disasters require special financing. Thus the United States has managed to purify the water of the Great Lakes. We too must find sources of financing in addition to rents and in addition to systems of payment for the utilization of nature, for land that is turned over free of charge is squandered and inefficient irrigation with water received free of charge leads not only to overexpenditure of the water, but also to salinization of the soil.

I am convinced that we could obtain hard currency not only by selling resources, but also by attracting tourists to zones with wild nature from the Arctic to the desert. Throughout the world pristine nature is becoming a more and more valuable commodity, bringing in millions of dollars—to the United States, to Kenya, and to other countries.

This kind of tourist activity that is intended for nature lovers requires not so much the construction of deluxe hotels as inexpensive camp grounds and tent villages. The guides for these excursions will be geologists, zoologists, botanists, ethnographers, and archaeologists. This organization could take away the monopoly from Intourist and could be created under Goskompriroda.

The financing of the USSR Goskompriroda and all of its institutions and scientific research and monitoring institutes involved in the protection of nature, including both in the USSR Academy of Sciences and in the republic academies, does not correspond to the general state tasks in the area of the protection of nature. Nondepartmental and state expert ecological evaluations and the scientific research associated with them require both time and a considerable amount of money. This money could be obtained, in particular, from fines for pollution of the environment.

It is time to sharply increase the social significance of all workers carrying out the difficult and sometimes dangerous activity for protection of nature and to increase their legal and social protection. I recall a case that occurred during the years when I was working in the Far East when guards at the Suputinskiy (now Ussuriyskiy) preserve detained at the exit from the preserve a vehicle containing several sacks of Manchurian pine cones. One of the people in the vehicle was at that time the chief of the science division of the Maritime Kray party committee, who not only was not punished but even tried through other people to intimidate the rangers. In almost every issue of the Goskompriroda magazine OKHOTA I OKHOTNICHYE KHOZYAYSTVO examples are given of poaching by high officials and also of the inadequate legal and social protection of those who are protecting nature. Unfortunately there continue to be cases in which rangers and fish protection workers are killed on duty. Suits brought for poaching are examined inefficiently. Workers of the basin inspection teams and sanitation service organs do not always receive support from soviet, legal protection, and party organs in the struggle for the protection of nature. Nor can one fail to recall that the level of payment for this dangerous nomadic work of workers for the protection of nature is inadmissibly low.

In the economic zone of our seas to this day industrial ships from other countries essentially carry on poaching activity in catching fish and sea products. As I was told by a very upset USSR people's deputy, Ye.N. Kabanov, captain of the Kamchatka Ocean Fishing Base, our fish protection ships are too slow to put a stop to poaching. We fail to receive large sums of hard currency both from the lost sales of licenses for fishing in our economic zone and from fines that are not exacted. At the same time the biological resources of the sea are being undermined.

Our country needs a system for the protection of nature and efficient utilization of nature with stable development of industry, agriculture, forestry, and fishing on the basis of intensive, not extensive utilization of the land, energy resources, and minerals.

We must have ecologically substantiated distribution of objects of the national economy and socio-ecological-economic expert evaluations of possible affects from the implementation of plans. Of course we must reject plans that exhaust natural resources, pollute

the air, soil, and water, and destroy organisms that purify the environment. Technologies must be revised from the standpoint of ecological safety and outdated ones must be replaced with those that are waste free, have reduced wastes, and save on energy and resources. Here we must turn to international experience. We are already repeating these ideas from speech to speech and from article to article. But we are still doing very little and it is extremely inconsistent. According to data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, during the first half of 1989 and compared to the same period of 1988 the discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere decreased by 6 percent or 1.8 million tons, but 9,000 enterprises increased their discharges by 1.2 million tons. And the level of pollution increased in many large cities. On certain days the concentrations of harmful substances in the air exceeded the maximum permissible levels there by a factor of 10 and more. The Sochiavtotrans association of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Automotive Transportation polluted the shore of the Black Sea with a huge discharge of petroleum products. The construction and installation administration of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum and Gas Industry has discharged diesel fuel into the Don in Yepifan (Tula Oblast) and the situation is alarming on the Don tributary in Severnyy Donets. The USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry is to blame for the fact that its enterprises in the city of Gubakh in Perm Oblast discharged petroleum products with high concentration into the Kosva River.

In the country as a whole we have almost fulfilled the half-year plan for the startup of installations for removing and neutralizing harmful substances from discharges into the air (94 percent), but the plan for the creation of systems for recycled water supply has been fulfilled by 60 percent and for installations for the purification of waste waters, by only 50 percent. Of the 1.279 billion rubles' worth of capital investments in environmental protection measures allotted for the first half of 1989, only 37 percent has been assimilated. It would seem that the assimilation of capital investments allotted for the protection of nature should be strictly monitored by both executive and control organs and people's deputies and soviets of all levels. This is possible only with the creation of legal foundations for the protection of nature and efficient utilization of nature. This law should envision a preferential right for small indigenous ethnic groups to use nature prudently in the zones historically inhabited by them.

We must all understand that we need an ecological and not a technocratic approach to the protection of nature. That is, we must protect not so much the air, water, and soil themselves as all the living communities that provide for protection of the environment, biogeocenoses, hydrocenoses, or ecosystems. The most important of their elements are the landscapes, the minerals, the gene pools of wild species, and the gene pools of domestic animals and cultivated plants. Without this the survival of mankind and the protection of the genetic health of future generations are unthinkable. This matter requires the cooperative efforts of state organs and social movements for the protection of nature in our country and abroad. We must expand our country's participation in international ecological projects.

Nevada-Semipalatinsk Group Protests Test Site

LD0708220789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Representatives of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement, which was created at the initiative of Kazakhstan writers, have taken action for peace in the town of Kurchatov. [video shows public meeting with participants standing up to shake hands; Genrikh Borovik of the Soviet Peace Committee is prominent] Residents of the town of Kurchatov dedicated this meeting to the 40th anniversary of the first test on Kazakhstan's soil. The people of Kurchatov supported the initiative of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement and many of them wished to become active members.

Yesterday, on the day of remembrance for the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a peace convoy organized by the Kazakhstan Movement for a Nuclear-Free World traveled through the territory of areas close to the Semipalatinsk test site, the great cultural park that is the homeland of Abay and Mukhtar Auezov. [video shows people marching, shaking their fists, and carrying banners, including one reading: "We are for the immediate closure of the test site"; man reading statement to microphone at open air meeting, with banner reading: "Remove the test site" behind him; caption identifies speaker as O. Suleymenov, USSR people's deputy]

It is time to take a decisive step toward universal security, to sign a treaty on a reciprocal moratorium on the underground testing of nuclear weapons, and to take the main issue of modern times—the threat of the destruction of life on earth—off the agenda. [video shows children holding banners, some in Kazakh, one in Russian reads: "Stop the tests!"] This appeal by the meeting's participants to the two presidents—Gorbachev and Bush—was, in a way, a continuation of the appeal to the U.S. Congress adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet at the request of Deputy Suleymenov, to help the governments to take decisive steps toward each other and sign a treaty on the final prohibition of nuclear weapons testing. This is how the supporters of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk Movement see the solution of this matter, through popular and parliamentary unity and through a dialogue between governments.

A considerable amount has been done through the movement's efforts over 6 months. For the first time in 40 years an expedition of civilian scientists studying ecology and people's health has operated in the area surrounding the test site. The main initiative of the Nevada-Semipalatinsk

Movement has been the shaping of a new popular diplomacy that is widely supported in the United States, Denmark, the FRG, and other countries. [video shows meeting participants; banners reading: "Defend our children against the white death" and "No to nuclear war"; people tying white ribbons to a tree]

Representatives of various of the country's public organizations came to the international action in Semipalatinsk. The Soviet Peace Committee has paid $50,000 for the construction of a children's diagnostic center in the regions adjacent to the Semipalatinsk test site.

Dual Language Tatar-Russian Magazine Issued

PM0408085189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "IDEL—Flow of Creativity"]

[Text] Readers have called the new magazine, IDEL (VOLGA), whose first issue has been published, a flow of creativity. By a CPSU Central Committee decision, this literary, artistic, and sociopolitical monthly is published in two languages—Tatar and Russian.

"IDEL is published by the Tatar Leninist Communist Youth League Oblast Committee and the Tatar Writers Union. It will be writing about young people and for them," R. Valeyev, its chief editor said.

The first issue opens with a welcoming message from the elder statesmen of Tatar literature, who describe the magazine as a launching pad for young talent. The works of dynamic writers, poets, and current affairs writers published in it are proof of this. It prints a story by the young prosewriter, Z. Khusniyar, entitled "Blaming Others," which is about the times of Stalinist repression. The work of Tatar and Russian authors is published.

Forest Fires Reported in Tyumen, Far East

PM0308095089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by Yu. Perepletkin and A. Pokrovskiy under the rubric "On the Spot": "When the Taiga Blazes..."]

[Text] Tyumen—Unprecedented heat has been raging in Western Siberia for over 2 months now.

Since the beginning of summer, an all-consuming fire has spread across a huge area, destroying 260,000 hectares of the Siberian taiga. Some 2,900 large and small fires have been detected. According to the latest figures, there are now 337 fires in the forests. Of these, 86 are large-scale, each covering an area of at least 200 hectares. Around 4,000 people are battling the flames; many people from other regions have arrived to help the inhabitants of Tyumen, but often the elements are proving stronger.

The subunits of the "Tyumenlesprom" association have virtually stopped working, resulting in losses of R2 million daily. The activity of the oilmen, gas workers, and engineers is paralyzed for many reasons. It is difficult to fly aircraft there: Smoke covers Omsk, Novosibirsk, and some other oblasts.

"Eventually there was some rainfall in a number of rayons in the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug," L. Cherkasov, chief of the oblast hydrometeorological center, told our own correspondent, "but it was a fairly small quantity and only extinguished the small fires. The local authorities intend to ask the State Committee for Hydrometeorology to help, so that by using the cloud cover that has formed, they could use aircraft to try to cause rain artificially. As regards the weather forecast for August, there is little consolation: The temperature will be 1 degree above normal, and there will be less rainfall... The situation in the oblast remains extremely complex."

Khabarovsk—The Far Eastern Forest Protection Airbase

"Around 100,000 hectares have been destroyed by fire recently. We worked on 904 fires to put them out, sending down parachutists and using ground equipment," A. Lyubyakin, chief of the airbase, said. "But unfortunately, it is not only the elements that are causing problems. Let me explain: In the last 2 years, the level of combustibility, to use the professional term, has risen sharply. While previous losses were estimated at 40,000-50,000 hectares of forest destroyed by fire, now, as I have already said, we are approaching 100,000. And the planned finances for the struggle against fire and all the work of forest protection by air have remained at the former level. We are now bankrupt and flying into debt (we are hiring airplanes and helicopters), and that is the truth."

Alas, a similar strange situation has now developed not only in Khabarovsk Kray, but also on Sakhalin, where there was a wave of fires recently, and in Maritime Kray... And fall is coming. And that time of the year is traditionally full of fire hazards in the Far East in the taiga. And so as to prevent great losses tomorrow, we must work out a precise plan for combating the elements today. And back it up with finances: We will have to pay for it anyway.

Far East Floods Cause R400 Million in Damage

LD0608184489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Mikhail Aleksandrovich Masterskikh, senior scientist worker at the Hydrometeorological Center, tells us about the weather.

[Masterskikh] [passage omitted] About the hydrometeorological conditions in the Far East: The weather there is stable and calm; however, the hydrological situation remains tense in certain rayons of Maritime Kray. After all, the kind of flooding that we have just seen occurs only

once every 35 years. The disaster has caused immense damage to the economy. The valleys of all the rivers in the southern, central, and eastern rayons of the kray were completely flooded. Water flooded 200,000 hectares of crops; 282 road bridges and 2 rail bridges have been damaged; and 1,600 km of roads have been washed away. According to preliminary calculations, the damage amounts to about R400 million. In many places now, the water level is dropping. Yakovlevskiy, Kirovskiy, Krasnoarmeysk, Dalnerechensk, and Pozharskiy rayons still remain in the flood zone. [passage omitted]

Kuban Beaches Hit by Freak Storms, Pollution

PM0808081389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 89 Second Edition p 8

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent K. Aksenov: "Beaches Closed. Emergency"]

[Text] Krasnodar Kray—It is hot in the Kuban. The many sunbathers want to get close to the water. But, unfortunately, as they approach the seashore they are increasingly often met by sobering signs saying bathing is forbidden. This happened a few days ago in Sochi, where about a million people are on vacation, and bans have also had to be imposed on the section of the Black Sea coast from Matsesta to Mamayka.

What has happened? There was a torrential downpour in the resort city. Early in the morning, when many people were still asleep, the elements struck Sochi's northernmost rayon—Lazarevskiy. About 100 mm of precipitation fell in a few hours, almost the norm for the month. The mountain rivers quickly swelled. The turbid torrents rushed down to the sea. The situation was extremely dangerous, for example, on the Asha River. Carefree motor tourists, heedless of warnings about the dangers awaiting them, are continuing to vacation right by the sea, in dried-up riverbeds and floodplains. In recent years there have been several accidents here. People died.

This year too we came within a hair's breadth of disaster, so to speak. An unexpected wall of water took the vacationers unawares. There would have been a disaster if the local militia had not given timely assistance. Its courageous actions saved many people.

Meanwhile a cyclone which moved along the shoreline struck Sochi's resort areas. The city's economy was seriously damaged, the sewage system broke down in a number of places, and the treatment plants on the Vzugu River and the pumping station at Matsesta were put out of action completely. The mineral water valley suffered damage. Fuel oil poured out of tanks in the damaged boiler room, "hitting" beaches, lawns, and part of the sea. An ominous fuel slick started to spread on the water and became quite large. In order to collect it and prevent it from reaching the beaches, special ships had to be brought in.

In Novorossiysk too the beaches were closed. The reason for this situation was excessive sea pollution. The specialists from the sanitation and epidemiological station carrying out the analyses are expressing great alarm in the press.

Who is to blame for the barbarous attitude toward Novorossiysk's extremely beautiful bay? In specialists' opinion, it is the city that is doing the greatest harm to the purity of the water. Accidental discharges of sewage have almost become the norm here, and treatment plants are deficient in a number of enterprises.

But this is not the only trouble. I happened to be on the city's beaches. I shall say openly that I have never seen such shocking things in the Kuban's seaside settlements. There was garbage right on the seashore, broken bottles everywhere, and insanitary conditions. And what is surprising is that in an attempt to avoid bothering with the proper maintenance of beaches, the city authorities farmed them out to a cooperative. And now people have to pay to sunbathe. But the smart operators duly collect the money but refuse to clean up the land by the water.

Decay and treatment plants' inefficiency are also leading to disaster in other resort towns in Kuban.

Evidently, there is a need for assistance from central departments. It is impossible to look on calmly while the pearl of the Russian seaside is losing its value and beauty.

Economic

Decree on USSR Trade Missions Ratified

18001514 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Aug 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Text "Law of the USSR: Confirmation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Ukase 'On Confirmation of the Provisions on USSR Trade Missions Abroad'"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet decrees as follows:

To confirm the USSR Supreme Soviet ukase of 30 March 1989 "On Confirmation of the Provisions on USSR Trade Missions Abroad" (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR No 14, 1989, item 95), setting the Provisions in the following edition:

PROVISIONS

On USSR Trade Missions Abroad.

Article 1. USSR trade missions are organs of the USSR exercising abroad the rights of the USSR in the field of foreign economic activity and insuring efficiency in USSR participation in the system of world economic relations.

USSR trade missions shall be guided in their activity by the USSR Constitution and other legislation of the USSR, and by these Provisions, and also by USSR international treaties.

Article 2. The main tasks for USSR trade missions are the following:

a) to represent the state interests of the USSR in the country of sojourn in all matters pertaining to foreign economic activity, and in protecting those interests;

b) conducting an effective foreign economic policy of the USSR in the corresponding countries;

c) promoting the development of economic ties between the USSR and the countries of sojourn, improving the structure of foreign trade, and implementing new forms of trade and economic relations;

d) monitoring observance by ministries and departments and state, cooperative and other public enterprises, associations and organizations, referred to hereinafter as "Soviet participants in foreign economic activity," of the state interests of USSR as they conduct their foreign economic activity, and coordinating their activity in the country of sojourn;

e) protecting the interests in the country of sojourn of Soviet participants in foreign economic activity and rendering them, including the USSR Vneshekonombank, the USSR Chamber of Commerce, Soviet foreign economic consortia and associations engaged in business cooperation with foreign countries, and consulting and intermediary and other organizations, every possible assistance in the conduct of their foreign economic activity and in developing new directions and forms of economic and scientific and technical cooperation, such as setting up direct links, setting up joint-venture enterprises, service, engineering, trade and advertising companies, participation in mixed (stock) companies, engaging in production cooperation, and Soviet investments abroad;

f) drawing up proposals concerning the provision of equipment for projects with the participation of the USSR, and starting up such projects, and insuring conditions for their efficient operation;

g) observing compliance with international agreements concluded between the USSR and countries of sojourn on matters of foreign economic ties, including trade, industrial, economic and technical cooperation, and participating in the drawing up of proposals and negotiations to conclude such agreements;

h) protecting the ecological interests of the USSR in line with existing laws;

i) trade missions shall be responsible for the implementation of trade and economic agreements concluded with a country of sojourn, and for undeviating observance of the economic and trade interests of USSR.

Article 3. USSR trade missions may if so empowered by the USSR Council of Ministers also carry out the tasks listed in Article 2 in countries other than the country of sojourn.

In countries where there are no USSR trade missions their functions and tasks shall be carried out by the trade advisers at USSR embassies.

Article 4. In accordance with the task assigned to them, USSR trade missions shall do the following:

a) conduct work to pursue USSR foreign economic in countries of sojourn, and develop to this end the most favorable conditions in line with the state interests of the USSR in all matters pertaining to foreign economic activity;

b) study general economic conditions, plans and programs for economic development, the currency-and-financial positions of countries of sojourn, the development of their foreign economic ties, legislation in the field of foreign economic activity, ecological standards, market conditions for goods and various services, and also other features of foreign economic ties with particular countries; provide information on these matters to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and when required to other interested state organs of the USSR;

c) inform institutions and organizations in the country of sojourn about economic, social-ecological and commercial conditions in the USSR, and also about Soviet legislation in the field of foreign economic activity;

d) obtain from Soviet participants in foreign economic activity essential information on matters pertaining to their foreign economic activity in the countries of sojourn;

e) using procedure laid down by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, issue licenses for export and import operations and permission to import goods into the USSR, the transit of goods across the territory of the USSR, and the re-export of goods, and also certificates of origin for goods, and other documents required to engage in foreign economic activity;

f) be involved in work to develop socialist economic integration among the CEMA member countries, and to coordinate the state plans of the USSR and countries of sojourn, and promote fulfillment of long-term programs for economic and scientific and technical cooperation and the international agreements concluded for the purpose of realizing them;

g) monitor observance of ecological requirements when working out purchase conditions;

h) monitor in countries of sojourn observance of Soviet participants in foreign economic activity of USSR state interests and the interests of Soviet law on foreign economic activity, without interfering in their operational affairs;

i) provide the necessary assistance to Soviet participants in foreign economic activity in setting up and developing new forms of foreign economic cooperation, and in negotiations and the conclusion and implementation of foreign trade deals in countries of sojourn;

j) participate in the work of intergovernmental commissions and committees on questions of trade and economic and scientific and technical cooperation, and international economic organizations and their working organs insofar as they deal with foreign economic cooperation;

k) study within the country of sojourn the system of certification and the application of standards by international organizations, and problems of quality control, and also the quality and competitiveness of Soviet goods and services, and provide information on these matters for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the USSR State Committee for Product Quality and Standards [Gosudarstvennyy Komitet SSSR po upravleniyu kachestvom produktsii i standartam], and as required, other state organs of the USSR, and also submit proposals for the purpose of raising the technical level and competitiveness of output for export;

l) help in holding national trade and industrial exhibitions of the USSR and participation by Soviet foreign economic and other economic organizations in international exhibitions and fairs in the country of sojourn, and coordinate the work of Soviet participants in international exhibitions and fairs in those countries;

m) do work to attract companies and organizations in the country of sojourn to participate in exhibitions held on the territory of the USSR with a view to them showing the latest kinds of machines, equipment and technologies.

USSR trade missions shall also carry out other functions in accordance with the laws of the USSR and USSR international agreements.

Article 5. USSR trade missions may conclude deals and other legal enactments on their own behalf and on behalf of the USSR, needed to carry out the tasks assigned to them, and to act in the courts as the plaintiff or representative of a plaintiff. USSR trade missions may act as respondents in the courts only with respect to disputes stemming from deals or other legal enactments entered into by USSR trade missions in the country of sojourn, and only in those countries in which the USSR has international agreements or by way of a unilateral statement so informing the competent bodies of the country of sojourn expressing its consent for the USSR trade mission to be subordinate to the courts in the country of sojourn with respect to those particular disputes.

Article 6. The Soviet state shall be responsible for the obligations of USSR trade missions, giving due consideration to the provisions contained in Article 5.

USSR trade missions shall not be responsible for the obligations of foreign economic or other economic organizations, and Soviet foreign economic and other economic organizations shall not be responsible for the obligations of USSR trade missions.

Article 7. USSR trade missions shall be set up on the basis of international agreements concluded between the USSR and countries of sojourn.

Article 8. USSR trade missions shall be subordinate to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. USSR trade missions shall be integral parts of USSR embassies. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations shall determine their structure and shall staff them proceeding from the need to represent the interests of Soviet participants in foreign economic activity, and shall be active in the market of the country of sojourn.

The USSR trade representative and his deputies shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities to the extent provided for by USSR international agreements.

Ministries and departments and associations, enterprises and organizations shall when necessary provide for representation for their own foreign economic interests abroad by means of business trips using their own funds to have their representatives work as part of or through the USSR trade missions as agreed with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Article 9. USSR trade missions shall be headed by a USSR trade representative appointed to and relieved from the post by the USSR Council of Ministers on the submission of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, as agreed with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The period of permanent sojourn for work abroad in one country shall usually be not more than 5 years. USSR trade missions shall be financed from the budget of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations through a separate class of expenditure, with periodic determination of the effectiveness of the activity.

The USSR Council of Ministers shall if necessary empower USSR trade representatives to deal with competent organs in the country of sojourn.

Article 10. USSR trade missions may have their own sections in the country of sojourn. Such sections shall be set up on the basis of agreements concluded between the USSR and countries of sojourn, or other agreements with competent organs in countries of sojourn.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev. Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Moscow, the Kremlin, 3 August 1989.

Trade Minister Discusses Sector Priorities

18270137 Moscow SOVETSKAYA TORGOVLYA in Russian 1 Aug 89 pp 1-2

[Report on interview with K.Z. Terekh, USSR minister of trade, by V. Pushkarev: "A Hot Sector"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Pushkarev] Kondrat Zigmundovich, before we begin our interview, permit me to congratulate you on your reappointment to the post of USSR minister of trade. Today, under conditions of democracy and glasnost, the portfolio of minister is not simple: the time of pro forma has passed. Did you allow for the possibility of a negative vote?

[Terekh] I thank you for your congratulations. Of course, there was some concern, but I was prepared for the most unpleasant questions from the deputies, and for sharp criticism. For the deformations in economic development of the entire national economy are concentrated in trade as in a focal point. It is the most sensitive point of the social organism. And there are things to criticize and about which to express dissatisfaction. I had misgivings about just one thing, namely, that all the ills of the economic imbalance and the commodity shortages would be shifted onto the trade workers. For this has happened, and it still is. The reasons for the shortages should be sought in production, not in trade. But in general the assessment and the understanding of the situation were correct.

[Pushkarev] What is the basis of the program for the trade sector?

[Terekh] It lies in general in the channel of normalizing the economy and satisfying the needs and demands of Soviet people. We can in no way be reassured by the high rates of commodity circulation. Our task is to influence the situation in a most active way and exercise a real influence on stabilization of the market, and energetically resolve questions depending directly on trade workers.

Today the market is suffering from a serious disease. Hence the interruptions, the queues, the distribution of coupons, speculation, price hikes, and the devaluation of money. And this is urging on the flurry of buying, which is dangerous even for a healthy market.

This is why expanding the production of goods and unconditional fulfillment of contracts for deliveries to trade should be the sole aspiration of all trade organs and each labor collective.

The local organs and collectives have now been given independence and freedom of action. Unfortunately, the dependent attitude toward the forming of commodity resources continues. A stream of requests is being received from many cities and oblasts for the allocation of additional funding even for those goods that can be produced locally. Since the beginning of the year the USSR Ministry of Trade has received more than 160 written requests and delegations have arrived from half the regions of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic and many oblasts in the Ukraine and other republics. And now the people's deputies have become involved in this.

The situation is also being made more complicated by the fact that now, in connection with the switch to regional cost accounting, new relapses into narrow parochialism are being seen, and in some places interrepublic deliveries of goods are being torpedoed with an unusual thoughtlessness.

[Pushkarev] Can you cite specific examples?

[Terekh] For example, for 1990 the wholesale base of the Ukrainian Ministry of Trade will reduce by R2 million the deliveries of toys to other republics even though production in the Ukraine is not being cut back. In turn, the Uzbek SSR has refused to sell other republics household soap, while Azerbaijan has refused delivery of 2,000 tons of detergents. Similar examples can be seen for Lithuania and Latvia.

[Pushkarev] Much is now being said about reducing commodity stocks. Obviously this is one reason for the "explosions" of shortages, both with detergents and with matches, is it not?

[Terekh] In fact, compared to 1985, stocks have been reduced R16 billion. This, of course, reduces opportunities to satisfy demand in a stable manner. Today we have managed to halt the process of reducing commodity stocks. But still, stocks are R8 billion below the normative.

[Pushkarev] In the article "Trade and Shortages" published in PRAVDA two months ago you talked about the sources of shortages. It seems that the phrase at the session of the Supreme Soviet also rang out convincingly: "It is only possible to sell what has been produced." But to what extent do additional commodity resources depend on trade workers?

[Terekh] A great deal depends on us. During their training trade leaders were in Nikolayev, Vinnitsa, Kazan and Penza and were convinced for themselves how much the collectives can do when they work with initiative and interest. There are many sources. They

include bringing industrial waste products into circulation and developing commission trade, and attracting goods produced by cooperatives and by individuals. In addition, our sector is itself seriously involved in commodity production. Models of sewn articles, construction materials, toys, and other articles and souvenirs produced by trade enterprises were on display at the exhibition in Penza. We have been set the task of producing at least R100 million of nonfood articles in 1990 alone, or double the 1988 level.

[Pushkarev] Notwithstanding, what hopes are there of, if not eliminating, at least mitigating the commodity shortages?

[Terekh] The situation with commodity resources is as follows. For foodstuffs, sales growth for 1990 is being set at 5.5 percent. With the exception of livestock farming products and sugar we should insure uninterrupted trade in foodstuffs.

With regard to nonfood items, in 1990 it should be at a turning point. It is planned to increase output by at least R46 billion, or 20 percent. Deliveries of imported goods will be maintained at this year's level.

Taking into account the situation in the consumer market, the USSR Council of Ministers has obliged all sectors of the national economy to provide for an increase in the production of nonfood consumer goods. Particularly large increases are planned for the defense (36 percent), machine building (33 percent) and the construction (44 percent) complexes, and also at enterprises directly subordinate to the republics (15 percent).

[Pushkarev] In the mail sent to our editorial office there are many complaints that the consumer cooperatives, and hence the countryside, have been placed in a worse position than the cities with regard to supplies of goods; this was also talked about at the congress of cooperative workers. Is this so?

[Terekh] It is common knowledge that the allocation of commodity resources is done by the local soviets. And it has turned out that they have not approached this fairly everywhere. Let me cite an example from Tula Oblast. These were the arrangements made: Compared to the level last year, cotton fabrics in state trade amounted to 105.2 percent but in consumer cooperatives the figure was 55.8 percent; for furs and fur articles the figures were 110 percent and 78 percent respectively, and for aluminum articles 123 percent and 58 percent. The same disproportions are found with refrigerators and furniture.

And there are many such examples. An obvious voluntarism is being permitted with respect to resources additionally allocated, which in most cases are distributed only to enterprises in the trade administration. In this way social injustice is artificially created in the provision of goods for the rural population, and also for contingents servicing military trade and detached supply companies, in contrast to urban companies.

In this connection the leaders in trade involved in this business must immediately review the allocation of commodity resources between trade systems during the second half of this year, and henceforth approach the matter in a statesmanlike manner.

[Pushkarev] Kondrat Zigmundovich, the shelves in the stores are empty and the queues grow longer and longer. How can we explain this?

[Terekh] If the shelves are empty this does not mean that fewer goods are being sold. Trade turnover growth is high, but demand is even higher. And when demand outstrips supply then the rushes, impulse buying by purchasers, and all possible kinds of negative features are possible.

[Pushkarev] But how can we deal with the queues; is this possible when there shortages?

[Terekh] The queue is a shameful phenomenon that belittles the individual and irritates, not to say angers the buyer. Experience gained in Klaypeda, Volzhsk and other cities indicates that even today, under conditions of shortages of many goods, it is possible to operate without queues. What is required here is a complex of measures.

First, it is necessary to expand the trading area and make more rational use of them than we are.

Second, progressive forms of trade should be employed: self-service, deliveries of goods from bases and industrial enterprises in prepackaged form and in packing, and more extensive use of the practice of trading by the placement of orders.

Third, it is essential to bring basic order to the organization of the trading process. The typical picture is one where one or two sales people toil to deal with a queue while ten others stand around doing nothing.

And, of course, much depends on the professionalism of the trade worker and his ability to deal with purchasers.

[Pushkarev] Trade workers are rarely commended, they are more likely to be criticized, and a great deal of bile is poured on their heads. They are often treated unfairly and unjustly. And no one wants to be put in the position of a salesperson, for as a rule they work under very difficult conditions, on their feet all day, in the heat of summer and the cold of winter, and have to carry heavy loads about and work late in the evening, and on Saturdays and Sundays. And they are mostly women with children and families...

[Terekh] Yes, our work is not easy. I say "our" because I have in mind myself, the minister, and the other leaders. Each morning I open the newspaper and look for what criticism is being directed at the minister today. Too much; our sector is a hot one. Everything is in view. And there are many shortcomings and lapses.

Of course, some instructions and demands cannot be met. We also need concern for the people in this difficult profession, and protection for them. We are also fighting for and defending the interests of both consumer and salesperson. For example, it was only with great difficulty that we were able to deal with the question of raising wages for trade workers. True, they must work for the extra pay. We are striving decisively to achieve a situation in which stores have proper rooms for relaxation and good everyday conditions. Here we should stipulate that both well-appointed work places and the creation of workers' lounges are in the hands of the work collective itself. The ministry supports any spending when it is for the health and improved working conditions of personnel.

[Pushkarev] From time to time a conflicting situation arises in which the executive committees of the local soviets make decisions about the hours of work at stores, such as are manifestly not to the liking of the trade workers. How can this be?

[Terekh] Without any doubt we should go halfway to meet the consumer. The consumer wants to be able to purchase products early in the morning and late at night, and on Saturdays and Sundays. And the salesperson wants to be with her family when her children and husband are at home. What is the solution?

In Lithuania and Belorussia, and now also in a number of cities in other republics, they have started to open mini-stores in the large department stores. They have just one entrance and a set of the most necessary products—bread, milk, groats, and also sandwiches, juices, tea for consumption on the spot. A second way is to have stores or departments with extended business hours. In the Tajik SSR they still make use of the "family" stores operating on contract. If there is a will there is a way.

[Pushkarev] The sector has for 2 years been operating under the new management conditions. What are the results?

[Terekh] On the positive plane we should note that there is greater interest in the labor collectives in economical operations, and they have started to watch the rubles being spent. The decisions that have been reached have started to be commensurate to a greater degree with the final results.

All of this has affected first and foremost our economic indicators. Last year the level of income rose 7 percent while circulation losses were reduced 0.16 percent. More than R200 million were deducted to the budget above plan. Using internal sources, the shortage of our own circulating capital has been covered and the proportion increased. Planned losses at enterprises have been reduced by a factor of five.

Ultimately this has all had an effect in increasing the assets remaining at the disposal of the trade organizations, trusts and wholesale bases. This has made it possible to move a number of social questions from dead center.

Whereas in 1986-1987 no more than R40 million annually was being spent to construct housing, sanatoria, boarding schools and pioneer camps, this year alone about R160 million have been spent on these things. The average wage for workers in trade and public catering has risen almost 9 percent, or R13, which is equal to all the wage increases over the past 7 years.

[Pushkarev] However, there are many collectives in which the salespeople, commodity experts and cashiers, and even the managers themselves, do not know why they are switching to cost accounting or to a contract in which they, the consumers, will win.

[Terekh] Yes, perestroyka of the economic mechanism is still usually a matter only for the economists and workers in the planning sections and labor and wages sections.

The commercial, technical, legal and other services have not been involved in this perestroyka. This is precisely why we have been forced to focus only on those same chronic shortcomings and carry great and completely unjustified losses.

Take the problem of equipment. Merely because of its untimely installation we lose R10 million of cost-accounting income each year. And this is more than 37,000 square meters of housing. From 4 percent to 10 percent of cost-accounting income was not obtained last year because of non-production losses; this is almost R60 million in the wages fund. This is where reserves are for developing the material-technical base, for resolving social questions, and for raising wages in line with the new rates and salaries.

And there is another problem. More than 6,000 trade organizations are operating within the system of state trade, which include about 600,000 territorially dispersed small stores, dining halls, cafes and other trade units. It is quite obvious that without the active transfer of the labor collectives at these trade units to brigade cost-accounting, brigade, leasing, or family contracts, the activity of our trade organizations, trusts and association is doomed to failure under the new management conditions.

For example, in the Dzerzhinsk regional food trading organization in Perm city, before the switch to the brigade contract eight stores were operating at a loss. After the switch to the brigade contract all the stores, weighing facilities, and the food base started to fulfill the

commodity circulation plan, no stores have been operating at a loss, and incomes have risen 25 percent. Through the assets thus derived, within the trade organization hot meals have been provided at favorable prices, and workers' lounges, showers, and dressing rooms have been set up.

In Ternopol Oblast 50 stores operating under the conditions of the leasing contract have insured a 21-percent commodity turnover growth, while overall it has increased 8 percent in the administration. Income in these collectives has grown 26 percent, 9 percent for the entire administration. Wages have risen R43, and now average R200.

[Pushkarev] At the same time from the standpoint of some managers of trade organizations, trusts and associations, they are often hampered by obstacles from switching the labor collectives to these forms of management.

[Terekh] Well, you see, they fear that with the switch to leasing the collectives of stores, dining halls and cafes will no longer be subordinate to them and they will be forced to abandon command-administrative methods. But whether we want it or not, it is precisely the lease form of economic relations that will determine our prospects. And it is quite right that under these conditions the lease collectives will build their own relations with the apparatuses of the trade organizations and trusts on a contractual basis. Wages for commodity experts and workers in the technical, planning-and-finance, and legal services should be made directly dependent on actual work done with respect to the lease collectives.

Of course, we must bear in mind that the switch to leasing will be a voluntary matter. Campaigning and excessive bureaucratic administration are impermissible here.

[Pushkarev] Obviously the improvements will also require conditions for the economic mechanism, will they not?

[Terekh] Yes, we have already prepared these proposals. Briefly, they are as follows.

First, the time has come to reexamine the number of normatives for the allocation of cost-accounting income and to give the labor collectives the right to allocate assets from this fund to the wages fund and the fund for production and social development within limits set independently.

Second, it is expedient to give labor collectives the right to create a commercial risk fund and thus involve the entire labor collective in the preservation of material values.

Third, we are convinced that we must reexamine the practice of dual planning for retail commodity turnover, that is, the state order for state trade and control figures for the consumer cooperatives, because in accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise, the state order for commodity circulation is insured first and foremost by commodity stocks, and this has led to infringement on the provision of goods for the public served by the consumer cooperatives.

Fourth, introduction of a new tax procedure now in preparation will enable us to switch from the practice of normative deductions into the budget to tax rates based on income subject to allocation. This will make it possible to eliminate the imperfect practice whereby normatives for deductions from the budget are set for trade organizations and trusts according to what has been achieved.

[Pushkarev] In conclusion I would like to touch once again on social issues. What are the prospects here?

[Terekh] Today more than 260,000 workers in our system need housing, and hostels places must be found for about 70,000. The need for children's preschool facilities is about 90,000 places, and in terms of providing pioneer camps, sanatoria and health facilities, cultural establishments and sports facilities we occupy one of the last places. Tens of thousands of people are working in conditions that are not in line with the labor safety standards and rules. Each day more than 200,000 workers in the sector take time off because of illness.

These are the sad statistics.

Many of our managers have become so accustomed to their poverty and helplessness that they do not even believe that it is possible to change things for the better. And so they do not even fight for the allocation of limits for capital investments for the construction of housing and sociocultural projects realized through assets from the production and social development fund. Last year only about 6 percent of this fund was used, while in Georgia, Estonia, Kirgizia and Armenia the figure was less than 2 percent. In the Turkmen SSR this source of funding was not used at all.

But with the desire and with persistence much can be done. This is confirmed by a familiarization with the best trade enterprises in Omsk Oblast, where in May of this year our trade union central committee held an out-of-town plenum on these questions.

The newspaper SOVETSKAYA TORGOVLYA has described in detail how much has been achieved in Omsk after it rid itself of its dependence. The Omsk experience teaches—and I want to emphasize this—that concern for people should be constant:

—at the stage of planning, when it is a question of the future of a trade enterprise. Why do we have so few examples when new trade construction differs in no way from prewar buildings? The main thing is not the size of a project in and of itself, but how convenient it will be for those who have to work in it;

—in the organization not only of the basic production facility in old buildings but of adapting them to new, present-day requirements;

—in the use of all opportunities to help people solve the housing problem and create conditions for their leisure.

In short, the time has come to shoulder the responsibilities of the sector not in words but in deeds, and for the provision of good-quality services, and for people's fates.

[Pushkarev] There are many painful issues. But this is enough for today. For our next interview we will use letters and questions from readers.

[Terekh] I shall be happy to respond to them.

[Pushkarev] Thank you.

Ligachev, Nikonov Discuss Sugar Shortage

18001512 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS-attributed report: "Why Is There a Shortage of Sugar?"]

[Text] Measures aimed at strengthening the political and organizational work of party, soviet and economic organs, increasing sugar production, and improving supplies of sugar for the population have been examined in Voronezh and Vinnitsa at meetings attended by party, soviet and economic workers in the sugar-beet oblasts and scientists, leaders and specialists from kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] and sugar plants and transport enterprises.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic [RSFSR] A.V. Vlasov and chairman of the Ukraine Council of Ministers V.A. Masol presented reports at the meetings.

The following took part in the discussion of the questions: the first secretaries of the Voronezh and Vinnitsa party oblast committees [obkoms] G.S. Kabasin and A.P. Nekhayevskiy; first deputy chairmen of the Belorussian and Moldavian councils of ministers Yu.M. Khusainov and A.N. Sangeli; USSR ministers V.M. Velichko, N.S. Konarev, N.A. Pugin, and O.N. Shishkin; brigade leader from the "Komintern" kolkhoz in Sumy Oblast N.A. Lavrik; director of the Dzhansugurov sovkhoz in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, the Kazakh SSR, S. Mukanov; leaseholder engaged in growing sugar beet at the "Gryazinskiy" sovkhoz in Lipetsk Oblast, A.I. Bulychev; director of the Pavenchayskiy sugar refinery in the Lithuanian SSR, Yu.P. Ignotas; first secretary of the Kursk party obkom A.I. Seleznev; All-Union Central Council for Trade Unions [AUCCTU] secretary M.B. Ryzhikov; first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab] V.A. Faustov; and others.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo members CPSU Central Committee secretary Ye.K. Ligachev (in Voronezh) and V.P. Nikonov (in Vinnitsa) spoke at the meetings.

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Our people have already become accustomed to the fact that for many decades sugar has always been in adequate supply in the food stores. It is sometimes difficult to understand why in recent times trade in sugar has been mostly by coupons. Many people link this only with the increased use of sugar for moonshine under the conditions of the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism.

Those attending the meeting noted that this explanation is one-sided and far from complete. The fact is that sugar has been used for moonshine for a long time. Moreover, according to figures from the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the production of moonshine has not increased in recent years. That is, it is not only so much "moonshine" that is to blame for the sugar shortage.

Then what is?

First of all it is the lower production volumes of sugar beet and hence of sugar itself. The following facts show this eloquently: Compared to 1987, last year production of this product for the country as a whole declined 1.6 million tons, or 12 percent. There it is, the main reason for the shortage that has been created.

It so happened that year after year the sugar industry failed to pay proper attention and gradually found itself on the sidelines of scientific and technical progress and left far behind. Many problems also built up in the growing of sugar beet.

Those present at the meetings analyzed in detail the state of affairs in this sector. First and foremost, in many kolkhozes and sovkhozes growing sugar beet they are failing to make use of intensive factors and are only slowly mastering industrial methods for growing the roots. Hence also the sharp contrasts in yield. For example: over the past 3 years it has been 194 quintals in Tula Oblast. But in neighboring Ryazan Oblast it has been only 144 quintals, or 26 percent less.

In order to change the position it has been proposed that party committees and local soviet and economic organs create the proper conditions for in-depth assimilation of intensive technologies in combination with cost-accounting relations.

At the meetings special emphasis was laid on the fact that in order to provide sugar beet growers with material-technical resources it is essential to develop and produce in adequate quantities a basically new set of machines for growing sugar beet, and also chemization agents.

Much attention was paid to the quality of the sugar beet raw material.

Reviewing the problems that have built up in the sugar industry, those present at the meetings paid particular attention to the construction and retooling of enterprises. For more than half of fixed capital at the sugar refineries is obsolete.

For example, in Voronezh Oblast of the 12 sugar refineries half date back to prerevolutionary times (more than 150 years), two refineries were built before the war, and the rest have worn out equipment. It is impossible here to talk about using electronics and microprocessors. And there you have the technical capabilities of the country's largest sugar-producing oblast. The situation is the same at sugar refineries almost everywhere.

In the Ukraine, during the first 3 years of the present five-year plan only 88 percent of capital investment funding allocated for development of the sugar sector in the republic was used. In the RSFSR, where provision was made for projects during the five-year plan to process 35,000 tons of sugar beet daily, capacities have been brought on line for only 2,600 tons.

This testifies to the poor sense of responsibility for compliance with decisions on the part of the communists who are leaders both of the agroindustrial committees in the all-union and autonomous republics and krays and oblasts, and of the associations and enterprises in the sugar industry, and of the construction ministries and their subdivisions at the local level.

Leaders of the USSR Ministry of General Machine Building, USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry, the USSR Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building, and the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry, which made provision for allocation of equipment for low-capacity and technically backward plants, were justly criticized. Production of a whole range of series-produced equipment was planned for quantities that in no way satisfy the needs of the sector. In short, ministries in the machine building and defense industries are only slowly developing up-to-date equipment and putting it into series production.

It is high time that the leaders in these ministries understood delay in retooling in the processing industry means large losses and growing difficulties in supplying the public with foodstuffs and a sugar shortage.

Touching on the problem of organizing the reception and storage of sugar beet, those presenting reports and making statements emphasized that normal conditions have not been created at the sugar-reception points for storing the raw material, and virtually no use is being made of progressive storage methods. Thus, only 25 percent of reception areas have a hard surface or active ventilation. Each year the targets for constructing them are not met.

Construction of areas with active ventilation is particularly unsatisfactory in Saratov and Orel oblasts and Altay Kray. Meanwhile, up to 10 percent of procured sugar beet is being lost there during storage.

In 1988 for the country as a whole 15 percent of sugar was substandard; in the RSFSR the figure was 25 percent, in the Moldavian SSR 37 percent. This is all the result of poor technological and labor discipline and lack of exactingness on the part of leaders and specialists.

Workers in the sugar industry are making justified complaints about the scientific establishments and associations in the sector.

When examining the state of affairs, at the meetings special attention was paid to the readiness of all elements of the sugar conveyer for the new processing season. This year a good crop of sugar beet has been grown. There is a real opportunity to increase sugar processing substantially and sharply reduce the shortage. There is still time to bring harvesting equipment into good order, along with the processing enterprises and storage bases.

First and foremost what is required is clear-cut organization of material-technical supplies for the kolkhozes and sovkhozes growing sugar beet, and for the processing enterprises. Industrial enterprises in cities and industrial centers can and must provide a great deal of help building up the production capacities of the sugar industry and in retooling and maintenance. This kind of experience has been gained in Krasnodar Kray and in Lipetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Belgorod and some other oblasts. It is important to disseminate it widely.

Other measures have been envisaged. In particular, it is recommended that party committees, local soviet organs, and central departments thoroughly examine the course of fulfillment of decisions made earlier by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers to develop sugar production, and that they investigate specifically the work of each farm growing sugar beet, and each sugar refinery. It is essential to clarify what is interfering with the efficient use of the available production potential, and what needs to be done first and foremost through their own efforts, and what additional assistance is needed. It is advisable to make use of full cost accounting, leasing arrangements, contracts, and self-management, and to offer producers extensive rights, and to raise responsibility for fulfilling state orders. It is essential to link the wages of sugar growers and processors to the level of sugar yield.

It was suggested that all these questions be discussed in the labor collectives.

Party organizations and committees must lead this work and help each worker to recognize deeply his own personal involvement in improving supplies of sugar for the public.

It was noted at the meetings that it is very important to show more concern for the collectives of sugar beet growers and processors. It is essential to develop construction for housing and sociocultural projects, and deal with acute questions.

Enhancing the role of the soviet in economic and social development does not reduce the responsibility of the primary party organizations and committees for resolving all questions associated with people's working and everyday conditions. Work is needed with people not in offices but in the fields and shops.

The organization of socialist competition remains an extensive field of activity for the people at the sugar-growing farms and sugar refineries. In his speech, Ye.K. Ligachev emphasized that there should be continuity here. Of course, this does not mean the mere mechanical repetition of the experience of earlier years. The approach must be creative and give consideration to today's requirements. It is essential to revive the best forms of competition and rid it of formalism and red tape. For most Soviet people and for real workers, socialist competition, moral incentive, the force of example, and the exaltation of human labor have not lost their mobilizing significance and they should be fully used in work with people.

During the course of discussion of these issues the opinion took shape that it will be useful to develop socialist competition on a broad scale in the links, brigades and farms—directly wherever success in building up sugar beet production is being resolved.

Chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department I.I. Skiba took part in the work of the meetings.

Economic Reform Commission Members Listed

18200443 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 31, Jul 89 pp 16, 17

[Report by N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and M. Shkabardnya, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers: "On the Economic Reform Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] In keeping with the decree of the 1st USSR Congress of People's Deputies and for purposes of radically improving control of the process of restructuring economic relations in the country, consistently and unwaveringly implementing the radical economic reform, improving the methods of planned state regulation of national economic development, implementing interconnected measures for forming the socialist market, and also for organizing the work of restructuring the management of the economy and social sphere in the union republics and regions, the USSR Council of Ministers hereby decrees:

1. To make it the responsibility of the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Economic Reform formed by the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers of 5 July 1989, No 538:

to provide for the development of scientific foundations and principles of control of the process of developing and deepening radical economic reform;

to develop and implement a complex of measures providing for the creation and reliable functioning of a new model of the socialist system of management, and to conduct an in-depth analysis of the effectiveness of its influence on the socioeconomic processes taking place in the economy and the improvement of the standard of living of the Soviet people;

to prepare proposals for perfecting principles of economic accountability [khozraschet] on the basis of a combination of various forms of socialist property and the creation of equal conditions for the development of all forms of management;

to form and carry out a system of measures for the development of the socialist market and its effective functioning and to develop reliable methods of control of market relations based on the tasks of stable dynamic development of the economy, the elimination of manifestations of monopolies in the activity of enterprises and associations, and the creation of conditions that provide for social protection of all members of the society;

to carry out a radical restructuring of the credit and finance system and methods of price regulation, to improve the practice of taxation of revenues of enterprises, organizations, and citizens as an instrument for influencing their economic interest in improving the final results of labor and strengthening financial relations with the state, republics, and local soviets of people's deputies;

to organize work for the development and strengthening of self-financing and self-management of the union republics and regions, improvement of interrepublic relations on the basis of an organic combination of principles of socialist federalism and economic independence of the republics with their active participation in solving state tasks and with unionwide division of labor;

to prepare proposals for further improvement of organizational structures for control of the basic unit of the national economy through all-around development of

the initiative and independence of the enterprises, the formation of various kinds of interbranch associations like concerns, unions, and conglomerates [assotsiatsii], and other forms of state, cooperative, and share-holding organizations created on a voluntary basis, and proposals for a radical change in the functions of the ministries and a rearrangement of the organizational structures for management of the branches of the national economy taking into account the development and strengthening of new forms of administration;

to organize the study of foreign experience in the area of improvement of the economic mechanism, control of the economy, and utilization of instruments of state regulation under the conditions of market relations, and to prepare proposals for the application of this experience.

2. The State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Economic Reform, in order to carry out the tasks for which it is responsible:

interacts closely with the permanent commissions of the chambers of the USSR Council of Ministers and its committees for questions of conducting the economic reform;

organizes the development and brings up for the consideration of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers drafts of USSR legislative acts and decisions of the USSR government concerning questions of implementing the economic reform;

within the limits of its competence, makes decisions which are mandatory for execution by central economic organs, ministries and departments of the USSR, councils of ministers of the union republics, associations, enterprises, organizations, and institutions;

provides methodological guidance and coordination of the activity of the ministries and departments of the USSR, the councils of ministers of the union republics, the corresponding republic commissions, and the leading scientific institutions of the country for questions of preparing proposals directed toward the creation and improvement of the integrated system of economic control, and also contributes to the implementation of the decisions made in this area;

organizes the development by central economic organs of drafts of methodological and normative acts necessary for carrying out the economic reform, considers them at meetings of the commission, and makes the corresponding decisions; exercises control over correct application of normative and methodological acts concerning these issues;

considers plans of organizational structures for control of branches of the national economy, interbranch and territorial-production complexes, and regions of the country, and also proposals for changing them; provides methodological guidance of the work for creating new forms of management at all levels of management and production;

conducts economic experiments in the national economy, generalizes their results, and develops proposals for disseminating new management methods developed during the course of these experiments;

determines the basic directions for scientific research on problems of economic reform and instructs the leading scientific institutions of the country to carry out this research;

cooperates with state organs, government institutions, and scientific research organizations of the socialist countries on problems of conducting the economic reform, and also maintains and develops contacts with state management organs and scientific and business circles of developed capitalist countries for questions of study and application of experience in economic management;

organizes all-union meetings and conferences on problems of economic reform with the participation of leading foreign scholars and specialists; provides for the participation of Soviet scholars and specialists in conferences held abroad on question of improvement of economic management.

Soviet specialists are sent to foreign countries under the established policy. Plans for sending Soviet specialists to study foreign experience in the area of economic management and participate in international meetings and conferences on this problem are approved by the chairman of the commission.

3. To establish that the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Economic Reform has the right:

to make decisions within the limits of its competence which are published in the form of instructions from the USSR Council of Ministers;

to change enterprises, associations, and organizations of USSR ministries and departments over to the new management conditions, and for questions requiring a decision of the USSR government, to make suggestions to the USSR Council of Ministers;

in necessary cases, to suspend the application of normative and methodological documents of ministries, departments, and republic commissions for questions of implementing the economic reform if they do not correspond to the legislative acts of the USSR, the decrees and instruction of the USSR Council of Ministers, and also the decisions of the commission;

to request and receive from ministries and departments of the USSR and the councils of ministers of the union republics data characterizing the course and results of

the implementation of the economic reform, the results of experiments that have been conducted, and also other necessary documents and statistical information;

to organize verification of the implementation of decisions concerning questions of the economic reform in the republics, regions, branches of the national economy, enterprises, associations, organizations, and institutions and, if necessary, to make suggestions to the USSR Council of Ministers;

to hear at its meeting reports from ministries and departments of the USSR and the corresponding commissions of the councils of ministers of the union republics concerning their implementation of decisions for restructuring the economic mechanism and developing new forms of management;

to give instructions to central economic organs, ministries and departments of the USSR, and scientific institutions of the country for preparing drafts of legislative acts of the USSR, normative-methodological documents, and analytical surveys on questions of conducting the economic reform.

4. To establish that the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Economic Reform provides leadership of the activity of the USSR State Bank, the USSR State Committee for Prices, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the USSR State Committee for Statistics, coordinates work on problems of conducting the economic reform by permanent organs of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Commission], the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], the USSR Gosstroy [State Construction Committee], the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the USSR State Committee for Product Quality Control and Standards, and also considers questions of the organization of cooperative activity in the national economy (except for agricultural and consumers' cooperation) and the work of the All-Union Economic Society.

The Academy of the National Economy of the USSR Council of Ministers is under the jurisdiction of the USSR State Commission for Economic Reform.

In its activity the commission relies on a base scientific research organization—the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

5. For deep and comprehensive substantiation of measures for implementing the economic reform, its further development and deepening, analysis and expert evaluation of proposals that have been developed for improving the economic mechanism, to create a Scientific-Economic Council of the USSR Council of Ministers for the Economic Reform. This council is to include leading scholars and specialists in the national economy. The members of the Scientific-Economics Council are approved by the chairman of the commission.

6. To determine that the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Economic Reform is headed by a chairman who is a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. It includes deputy chairmen of the commission, deputy chairmen of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Food and Procurements, the chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, the chairman of the Scientific-Economics Council of the commission, the leaders of central economic organs or their deputies, and leading scholars and specialists.

To approve the proposed members of the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Economic Reform.

To establish that members of the commission participate in sessions without the right of substitution.

7. To create a working staff for the commission to carry out the functions of the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Economic Reform.

The commission staff is formed from staff personnel of the corresponding subdivisions of the staff of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR ministries and departments.

Workers of this staff (with the exception of department heads and their first deputies) are appointed by orders of the Administration of Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers on the recommendation of commission leadership.

The number of members of the commission staff, its structure, and complement of workers are established by the USSR Council of Ministers on the recommendation of the commission chairman.

Service for the staff of the State Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for Economic Reform is the responsibility of the Administration of Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers.

8. To declare invalid the decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers of 5 January 1989 No 12 and of 31 March 1989 No 282.

MEMBERS OF THE STATE COMMISSION OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS FOR ECONOMIC REFORM

Chairman of the state commission—deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade L.I. Abalkin

First deputy chairman of the state commission—Comrade P.M. Katsura

Deputy chairmen of the state commission:

Comrade S.V. Assekritov Comrade A.V. Orlov Comrade S.A. Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan

Members of the state commission:

Comrade V.S. Pavlov, USSR minister of finance Comrade V.K. Senchagov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices Comrade V.I. Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems Comrade V.N. Kirichenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics Comrade V.M. Serov, chairman of the USSR Gosstroy Comrade V.F. Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice Comrade Yu.P. Boyev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gossnab Comrade I.M. Bortnik, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology Comrade I.D. Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers Comrade S.M. Polotskiy, deputy minister of the chemical and petroleum processing industry Comrade V.V. Grebennikov, USSR deputy chief state arbitrator Comrade K. Turysov, secretary of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] Comrade A.G. Aganbegyan, chairman of the Scientific-Economics Council Comrade Yu.V. Skokov, chairman of the board of the Kvantemp interbranch state association Comrade A.A. Nikitin, general director of the Moscow Zarya industrial trade footwear association of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Light Industry Comrade V.A. Martynov, deputy director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences Comrade B.Z. Milner, deputy director of the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences Comrade S.S. Shatalin, department chief of the Institute of Economics and Prognostication of Scientific and Technical Progress of the USSR Academy of Sciences Comrade R.N. Yevstigneyev, department chief of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences Comrade T.I. Koryagina, department chief of the Scientific Research Economics Institute under the USSR Gosplan Comrade G.A. Yegiazaryan, department chief at the Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov Comrade A.P. Vladislavlev, first secretary of the board of the Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies of the USSR.

Agricultural

Statistics on Harvest Progress Reviewed

18240226 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by N. Osychkin: "Grain to The Granaries!"]

[Text] **The harvest is in full swing. It is in progress in all economic regions of the country. According to the reports from USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], by 7 August, the grain and legume crops (excluding corn) in the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] were reaped over 48 million hectares and threshed over 44.5 million hectares. This is 42 percent of the crops. The pace of the work has been slowed somewhat by the rains which occurred in a number of locations. Last week yielded an increment of harvested area of 8.9 million hectares, 2.1 million less than in the previous week.**

In individual regions, the course of the harvest season is characterized thus: In the Russian Federation, 40 percent of the crops have been harvested; in the Ukraine, 90 percent; in Belorussia, 61 percent; in Kazakhstan, 14 percent; in Moldavia, 96 percent; in Lithuania, 49 percent; in Latvia, 40 percent; in Estonia, 37 percent. In the Northern Caucasus region, the grain has been gathered over 90 percent of the plantings, in the Povolzhye region, 67 percent; in the Central Chernozem region, 75; in the Central region, 52; in the Volga-Vyatka region, 46 percent. The harvest season has been extended somewhat in Kalinin, Yaroslavl and Kostroma Oblasts, where for the time being, one-third of the area has not yet been threshed. The situation requires taking advantage of every fine hour, otherwise, crop losses will be inevitable.

But it is not only a matter of complicated weather. At many farms, not all the available equipment has been put into action; machines have stood idle. In the three oblasts cited, as well as in Novgorod, Kaluga, and Tselinograd Oblasts, 12-14 percent of the combines have not yet been repaired. In the Orenburg area, almost one-third of the assemblies are not supplied with electric starter-motors. The supply lag for the "Don-1500" harvester is being overcome slowly. For this reason, 1,500 of them are laid up.

Harvest has come to the Altay, even though 6,300 motor vehicles sent there for the harvest from Moscow and other cities have not yet come. The trucks are awaited impatiently in Northern and Central Kazakhstan. And how interruptions in the supply of of petroleum products hamper the course of the harvest! During 6 days in August alone, the Ukraine was shipped 55,000 metric tons less gasoline than was scheduled. Diesel fuel is irregularly supplied to Belorussia and Lithuania. Apparently, from the government, local party and soviet organs' side, stricter demand is required upon those who do not observe supply discipline, especially when the harvest is in full swing.

Now many kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the European part of the country have grown good crops. Following the farms of Voronezh and Orlov Oblasts, the Kalmyk ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], the Stavropolskiy Kray, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, Nikolayevsk, and Volynsk Oblasts have fulfilled the state order for grain sales, and continue to ship it at high prices. As was discussed in SELSKAYA ZHIZN 4-6 August, the influx of grain for foodstuffs purposes should promote the system of return sale to farms of machines and materials

in short supply. This opportunity is being actively exploited in Stavropol, where 200,000 metric tons of wheat were realized after the state order was fulfilled.

However, as before, all possible obstacles arise on the path to the grain conveyer. For the past week, the quantity of the grain entering the state resources has been reduced by 2.4 million metric tons by comparison to the previous week, even though there is still an enormous distance to the fulfillment of the annual state order. It is only one-quarter fulfilled in Saratov, and Ulyanovsk Oblasts, and one-fifth fulfilled in Smolensk and Yaroslavl Oblasts. In many farms of the Northern Caucasus, the Ukraine, and the Central Chernozem Oblasts which have raised a great harvest, the grain has piled up on the threshing floors. Its shipment is delayed by overloaded elevators. Hundreds of thousands of tons of high-quality wheat lie under the open sky at storage enterprises in the Kuban, Stavropol, Kharkov, Nikolayevsk, and other oblasts. The railroad workers systematically hamper the supply of cars.

The increase of production and preparation of legume crops has great significance for the formation of foodstuffs and feed reserves. The pea harvest is now under way, but is not yielding high quality everywhere. While the Ulyanovsk machine operators managed to get all the harvesters and thresher assemblies operational, and achieved a high production level for them, in some other locations, the crops are standing too long, leading to losses. There are great contrasts in the pea fields; for example, in the Tatar area. In the Laishevskiy kolkhoz "Rossiya," this crop was threshed in a few days, but in the farms of Chistopol, the harvest work is not going as well as it could, and there has been a large interval between the mowing and the threshing. Extremely low yields of leguminous crops have been realized in Tula, Kursk, Kuybyshev, and Ryazan Oblasts.

As a rule, in August, work is done sequentially. The threshing of winter rape has just now been completed. Some 142,000 metric tons of this crop's oil seed are going to state reserves; twice as much as last year. Soon the spring rape will go next. But here is a problem: Which enterprises will process it, and which will get comestible oil, oilcake and margarine from rape? So far there are few units. The harvest of vegetables, fruits, and early potatoes is in progress everywhere. The laying-in of seed and the preparation of fodder is continuing. By calculation in feed units, 63.1 million metric tons, 40 percent of the plan, has been put in reserve.

Farms are laying the foundation for the future harvest. The machine operators are cultivating the soil for winter and spring sowing. The rye seed has been sown into the earth over the first thousands of hectare in a number of northern regions. The field conveyer is gathering strength.

Rail Support for Harvest Detailed

18290257 Moscow GUDOK in Russian 8 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by Correspondent S. Kasatyy from Saratov-Volgograd: "Not to Wait For Manna From Heaven"]

[Text] **It has been thus since olden days: The Kuban and the Stavropol area, the southern regions of the Ukraine, are the first in the country to begin the harvest. And later this wave expands, after a significant interval of time, to encompass other regions of the country.**

The current summer has made significant corrections to the schedules: The interval between ripening, the beginning of the grain harvest, and its transportation to the storage areas was minimal. And it is a joyous thing that the harvest from the Kuban, the Dnepr and up to the Volga was a good one. And if the average daily apportionment of grain shipped on the primary grain railroads in July appeared thus: Northern Caucasus railroad (plan number followed by actual) 578 and 641 cars; Odessa railroad, 362 and 446; Volga Area railroad, 137 and 168, then in August, the arrow of the grain compass will swing sharply. In plans for this month, the Odessa railroad remains at the same level; the Northern Caucasus railroad must get up to 805 grain cars shipped daily, and the Volga Area railroad, 812!

Such a thing has never happened before, and it may be said that this is the main surprise of the season. Our correspondent in the Volga area describes how local grain purchasing agents and railroad workers are preparing for this surprise.

Over one million metric tons of grain came to the railroad track-side warehouses and elevators toward the end of the second 10-day period of July. The grain growers and and harvesters of Volgograd Oblast, and then those of Saratov opened the harvest season. The roads through villages leading to the stations are covered with dust. The daily shipment has reached 200 cars, and in August it must exceed 800.

But the demand for Volga-area wheat is high. It is planned that the grain will be shipped on 26 railroads of the network: 5,200 cars will go on the Southern Ural railroad in August; 2,000 on the Oktyabrskaya; over 1,500 on the Gorkiy; over 5,000 on the mainlines of Siberia and the Far East. It will be necessary to bring into circulation more covered cars, since grain cars alone cannot cope with such volume.

Will the PPV [car loading points] in existence on the railroads provide supplements of covered cars if there are not enough grain cars? In effect, no shortage was experienced in July, but in August, when grain shipping on the Volga Area railroad is expected to increase almost six-fold, one must necessarily arise. People everywhere are pinning their hopes on these points.

Simple arithmetic shows that they may. However, no one should entertain hopes for the off chance (and such a disease is felt in the service of the car sector of the Volga Area railroad). Of all the railroad's PPVs, perhaps only in Krasavka (near the junction station of Atkarsk) does the preparedness meet current demands. There they can deliver for transfer 100-200 covered cars, which cannot be said about many other localities. For example, in Krasnyy Kut, 15 years ago the public health inspectors forbade washing the cars in order not to pollute the environment. And after all, there nothing has changed significantly ever since.

The same thing can be said about the stations of Pallasovka, Kotelnikovo, and Petrov Val, where they plan to put supplemental points for car preparation into effect. Alas, in this regard, the railroad is still governed by an order from ...4 February, 1987. I find out details such as: Over the course of several days, PPVs were not in operation at the Maksim Gorkiy Station and the Ilovlya-2 station—there were no planks or iron for roofing. Many dispensers stood idle for 13-16 hours a day because empty cars were not provided. There are not enough carpenters or washers at the dispensers.

On the PPV tracks in Yershov, not a day goes by that car and switching engines derailments are not repeated. The tracks sector of the point at Pugachevsk are in a neglected condition.

This is how the "estimated" arithmetic departs from the factual. Not because there arise "holes: in the plans: Toward the beginning of the massive transfer of the harvest, they planned to keep over 3,000 covered cars in reserve, but they collected less than half. And only after the intervention of the MPS [Ministry of Railways] were deficit materials found to repair the cars.

No, the years of perestroyka have not yet taught us self-reliance or any other self-phenomena. We are accustomed to working on leading strings from the center. And now, as we enter an unheard-of harvest season (it is bad when there is a poor harvest, but things are growing, and we scratch our head?), we are worried about how to transport the grain from the "interior"?

I put this word in quotation marks because we are not talking about non-existent or disintegrating village motor ways, but of the so-called [iron] railways, reduced to a lamentable state. After all, of the 100 approach tracks to the elevators, 87 are rails on pulpwood. Some 20 of them do not guarantee safe passage of rolling stock containing grain. The tracks at the purveyors' grain-loading stations of Aleksikovo, Donskaya, Surovikino, Oblivskaya and others are extremely neglected.

The line's Weighing Section impedes every harvest season. It is shameful to say that in our electronic age, not a single one of the stations and grain-receiving points and elevators "registered" to them in Volgograd, Astrakhan, Rostov, or Ural Oblasts has electronic scales. Everything is antique, primitive, demanding a long time for numbers, dosages, manual inventory, and then for claims of short weight (they usually do not complain about overweight). And like money, grain loves to be counted and inventoried. While the endless interdepartmental trade is going on, who needs the scales more, the railroad workers or the purchasing agents for agricultural production?

But let us return to the transportation conveyer. For the time being, they are getting the grain cars. Covered cars are being used literally in single units only. True, in the Astrakhan division, the need for them is significant, for transporting vegetables, for the melon crop. And here arose the first errors in the shipment of "green" freight.

One sometimes has to hear, "but that is not the main thing." Grain is indeed the head of everything. Popular wisdom, however, reminds us that man does not live by bread alone... Thus, all that is grown must be delivered from field to storehouse to our store shelves. And let the melon-growers of Astrakhan and Kamyshin ship their famous melons without spilling them; incidentally, they should not have to be stuffed in the cracks of covered cars.

The entire potential of methods and means for grain transportation must be used—scheduled transport routes for relatively short distances, with the return of empty cars, in order that the preparation of covered cars take up the minimum amount of time. Of course, under the watchful control of the dispatching apparatus of their own and adjacent divisions and railroads. It is, after all, a common cause!

To ensure intra-railroad grain transport on the Volga Area line, it was planned that 15 grain car shuttles be put into circulation. For now, there are two in use, both in the Volgograd division. As they told me in the Volgograd Oblast grain and produce administration, dispatcher control has been established for their movements, and for the time being, there has been no excessive downtime in the loading operations. Thus, a 45-grain-car shuttle in circulation in the Surovikino-Kamyshin sector made five trips in July, delivering tens of thousands of metric tons of grain. In Kamyshin, they load it on river vessels and ship it on the Volga.

I note that such a transfer was not planned in July, but taking into consideration the intensity of the harvest season, the purchasing agents, the railroad and river workers handled the situation quickly and made a wise decision. Would that there were more such initiatives! Unfortunately, here and there, disruptions of grain shipment due to failure to supply empty cars are noted. The demands of the elevators at the Archeda, Kalininsk-Saratovskiy, Kumylga, Zenzevatka and other stations are not fulfilled.

The ministry has taken timely measures to provide the Volga Area railroad with grain cars, and over the final week of last month the situation improved, but what is

not needed today is to make due with emergency relief, to count on "everything being visible from on high" (and that they will help and assist if they only scream "help" in the press and television). What is needed is maximally precise distribution and utilization of all that has been planned. After all, it is no accident, and probably at someone else's expense that the Volga Area set the highest daily "quota" in August, 812 cars. More than the Northern Caucasus railroad. And if there are internal reserves (and there are), free up the covered cars more quickly; prepare, load, and transport more!

That is how the matter stands. The grain harvest season is a struggle, and not some sort of board-meeting, intercom routine... I said that and I stopped suddenly. Why? I remembered previous harvest years, and the stormy meetings of the railroads' and divisions' effective "grain headquarters," which included representatives of all concerned parties.

There are no such things on the railroad today. Were they considered an anachronism? It is early for that. In any event, with our current harvest the matter should not be left to "democratic" drift. We should not have to blush before the grain harvester.

...Unfortunately, we must already blush. During 6 days in August, only 2,062 cars of grain were unloaded, with the plan being 4,872 and the order for 5,347 cars! And of over 2,000 cars used, only 10 (?!) were covered cars. On the Volga Area line, do they seriously think that they will ship out the harvest in grain cars?

Scientific

News Conference Held on Space Research Plans

LD2108141589 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Soviet scientists and specialists have mapped out a program of space research for the period until 2005. Newsmen have been invited to the Ministry of General Machine Building, which monitors the development of rockets and other space apparatus, to learn some details about the large-scale program. Earlier press conferences of this kind were not organized. Our correspondent has supplied these details.

Space research problems have been drawing considerable interest in this country. It's understandable, too, since they require large investments today, and tomorrow they are likely to claim still larger funds. The draft program of space research is to be submitted to the Supreme Soviet for the highest national legislature to decide how much can be allocated to finance the suggested projects. Newsmen were told the space communication systems, Orbital, Ekran, and Moskva, had yielded more than half a billion rubles in profit last year. Natural resources prospecting from orbit brings R350 million a year and meteorological satellites add an annual R500-700 million to the national budget.

Besides these concrete figures there are more approximate estimates. Although materials processing in space has been experimental by and large it may bring considerable profits. Experts predict semiconductor, drug, and unique materials manufacture in orbit may yield 15 billion to 20 billion for the national economy in the next 10 years. The head of the National Space Agency, Glavkosmos, Aleksandr Dunayev, had this to say about the long-term space program:

The program, Aleksandr Dunayev said, would provide for work in many important directions. Studies of other planets, particularly Mars, would go on together with astrophysical observations and studies of the Sun. Under the new program, space equipment would be used in prospecting natural resources, weather forecasting, and perfecting the system of communications, as well as in the work to resolve the ecological problem. Manned flights to space would continue and a new generation orbiting station, Mir-2, was to be designed as a longer term project. The station, which would have a mass of 300 tonnes, would cater to teams of 9-12 spacemen working in orbit on a permanent basis.

Replying to a question dominating the minds of many people today, namely when a human foot would tread on Martian soil, Aleksandr Dunayev said the government had approved a program of preparations for a manned mission to Mars which would require a considerable degree of international cooperation. A flight to Mars, Aleksandr Dunayev emphasized, was a grand problem that should be solved by combined efforts. (?If) technical aspects being fairly clear one could expect such a mission to take place in 2015 or 2017.

Progress-M Space Ferry Preparing for Launch

LD2208093989 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Preparations for launching a space ferry of the Progress-M type are under way at the Baykonur spaceport. In ferry is a modification of the well-known Progress freighter that supplied Soviet cosmonauts for years with all they needed during their orbital missions. Progress-M is to link up with the basic module of the orbigal complex Mir. It will deliver food and water supplies along with new equipment for the next Soviet manned mission that will soar into space on 6th September. The mission is to stay in orbit till 19th February.

Radiobiologists Congress To Analyze Chernobyl

LD2208111389 Moscow TASS in English 1036 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—More than 700 Soviet radiobiologists gathered in the Soviet capital for their first congress, which opened today.

The scientists, who represent the Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Medical Sciences, the National Agricultural Academy and the Health Ministry, will discuss matters connected with fundamental research into radiation's effect on living organisms.

Special attention will be paid to analysis of the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe and the use of the achievements of Soviet radiobiologists in the public health system.

The congress will also discuss the introduction of radiation biotechnology into the national economy, research aimed at increasing crop yields, and preservation of farm produce.

Designers Describe New Helicopters at Exhibition

LD2108194789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Summary] Correspondent Igor Zorin reports from Moscow central airport where an exhibition of Soviet aircraft is under way. He spoke to Vyachelsav Georgiyevich Krygin and Yuriy Grigoryevish Sokovikov, chief designers of the Kamov Design Bureau, who describe several items on display: the K-29 transport and combat helicopter, which is capable of staying in the air for 3 hours and developing a speed of 300 km an hour. It weighs 11 tons and is extremely reliable. The K-126 is another new mini-helicopter, weighing 3,200 kilograms and capable of taking another 800 kilograms on board. These helicopters are being manufactured in cooperation with Romania. They could be sold to foreign customers at a profit, because they meet international standards.

Military

Aviation Day Aircraft Exhibit Opens in Moscow

LD1908100689 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—An exhibition of military and civil aircraft opened at the Central Mikhail Frunze Airfield on Moscow's Leningradskiy Avenue. It is being held in time for the USSR Aviation Day and will be open for visitors from August 19 to 27.

"Specimens of the most up-to-date aircraft are on view at the unique show", Viktor Maksimovskiy, deputy minister of the aviation industry of the USSR, told TASS. "Future aircraft specimens are also on view," he said.

Really, one can see there newest aircraft, entered by leading experimental design offices, along with "the veteran" aircraft well known in the whole world—the UT-2, YAK-3, and YAK-55M planes. The exhibition features numerous MiG planes, and a whole family of SU planes.

The Kiev Oleg Antonov firm, which designed the world's largest Mriya cargo carrier plane, is exhibiting small aircraft this time, namely, the An-28 plane, the serial Slavutich Delta-plane and powered Delta-plane.

The exhibition also features the Su-27 and MiG-29 warplanes. But the highlight of the air show is the newest A-40 plane, a rescue amphibian plane intended to save people in distress from water.

One unfortunately cannot see there the snow-white beautiful TU-160 plane: It needs a different run-way. This strategic supersonic bomber is expected to make an exhibition flight at the aviation and sports display in Tushino tomorrow.

Yazov Order of the Day for Aviation Day

PM2108152589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov Order of the Day No 280, dated Moscow, 20 August 1989]

[Text] Comrades soldiers and seamen, sergeants and petty officers!

Comrades warrant officers and ensigns!

Comrades officers, generals, and admirals!

Comrades pilots and navigators, engineers and technicians, specialists in military and civil aviation, workers in the aircraft industry, and aviator sportsmen in the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF]!

Comrades veterans of aviation!

Today our country and its Armed Forces are celebrating USSR Aviation Day. The Soviet people are celebrating this day at a time of really revolutionary restructuring of all spheres of social life and intensive work to implement the transformations charted by the 19th all-union party conference and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

International tension has been eased considerably and nuclear arsenals are in the process of being reduced as a result of the principles of new political thinking being established in the world. However, there are still no guarantees that the positive changes initiated in the sphere of disarmament and strengthening confidence-building measures are irreversible.

In this situation Air Force personnel are channeling their efforts into comprehensively maintaining combat readiness, military discipline, and organization and, in a united combat formation with servicemen from other branches of the USSR Armed Forces, make a worthy contribution to the process of strengthening the country's defense capability on the basis of qualitative parameters of military building.

Working people at aircraft industry and civil aviation enterprises, and also DOSAAF aviator sportsmen, play an active part in resolving the tasks of further strengthening the economic and defense might of the Soviet Union.

I greet and congratulate you on this national day—USSR Aviation Day!

I wish air personnel in the USSR Armed Forces success in their combat and political training. I am confident that, closely rallied around the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, Air Force personnel will persistently improve their aerial skill and flying expertise and enhance their combat readiness to defend peace and socialism.

I wish aircraft industry and civil aviation workers new achievements in the creation, assimilation, and efficient operation of modern aircraft equipment.

I wish veterans of aviation success in their noble work to bring military-patriotic education to young people, and DOSAAF aviators high results in the development of aerial sports and the preparation of young people for service in the air forces.

To mark USSR Air Forces Day I order:

That celebratory firework displays be held today, 20 August 1989, at 2200 hours local time, in the capital of our motherland, the hero city of Moscow, the capitals of the union republics, and in the hero cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk and the hero fortress of Brest.

May our great motherland—the USSR—grow in strength and prosper!

Glory to the heroic Soviet people and their valorous Air Fleet!

Long live the CPSU—the initiator and guarantor of restructuring!

[Signed] Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

Yazov Visits Gagarin Air Force Academy

LD2008203189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0047 GMT 20 Aug 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] On the eve of the USSR Aviation Day, [Minister of Defense] Comrade Yazov visited the Gagarin Air Force Academy and the Museum of the Air Force. He warmly congratulated Soviet pilots on the forthcoming holiday. [video shows Yazov addressing an audience of men in military uniforms and reviewing museum posters and exhibits]

Air Force Political Chief Interviewed

LD2008205289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Aug 89

["I Serve the Soviet Union" program; interview with Air Force Major General Gennadiy Matveyevich Benov, member of the Military Council and head of the Air Force Political Directorate, by program presenter Vladimir Markin; date, place of interview not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Markin] Gennadiy Matveyevich, you assumed the duties of a member of the Military Council and head of the Political Directorate of the Air Forces relatively recently. What problems have you already come up against?

[Benov] Well, there are not a few problems in the Air Forces. Firstly, they are probably determined by the progress of restructuring in our country as a whole. The country is today experiencing a difficult and responsible period in its history. Problems have built up in the economy, in the social sphere, and they need to be solved. They have not bypassed the Air Forces, of course.

The main problem today is to translate the ideas and plans of restructuring into a practical level, that is, into a language of concrete actions and concrete decisions and deeds. Restructuring is under way in the Air Forces today in many areas. But it is proceeding, speaking plainly, more slowly than we would have wished. Perhaps we have no fewer problems than in other branches of the Armed Forces on the whole. And that is determined in the first instance by the nature and specific factors of the activity: the high dynamism in the renewal of aviation equipment, its increasing complexity, the stress of service, the undermanning of rear and communications units, and, at the same time, the large number of unresolved social problems.

Today, we are especially concerned about the level of flight safety and the state of military discipline. Incidentally, both problems are directly linked with the human factor, and thus with this whole range of economic and political and social conditions for its realization. And it is here that a contradiction arises between our plans and the real implementation of these plans.

[Markin] So, you are saying that even previously, there was no shortage of ideas and plans?

[Benov] That's exactly right, and we must admit it. We often took what was desired for what actually existed. Yes, and nor did we escape from report-mania and the desire to appear better than we really were in fact. Take a problem for example: Today, 70 percent of the flying personnel of the Air Forces are higher grade. But, at the same time, it is members of this category of airmen who are involved in many flight incidents. That is, what we have is a clear noncorrelation between the external, say, report-back side and the true state of affairs. This is a

very serious matter. After all, it affects not only flight safety, but also the evaluation of the level of combat readiness of our aviation units and formations from the standpoint of today's approaches, priorities, and qualitative parameters.

And here I would like to touch on another important problem—strengthening the authority of the political bodies of the Air Forces, increasing the role of the party and Komsomol organizations in the life of our military collectives. It is no secret that in some places they have even lost their leading positions and their vanguard role. In general, where political bodies and party organizations forget the needs of the individual and what the individual requires, things get distracted into phrasemongering, loud slogans, and appeals and there is no concrete or practical influence.

I am profoundly convinced that only by giving a lead to the restructuring processes, by way of achieving in them practical—however small—but real increments in our work, is it possible to strengthen our party positions, and to raise the authority of political bodies and party organizations.

This is especially topical [illegible] in the period of preparations for report-back [illegible] and elections in party organizations, and during the preparations for the preelection electoral campaign for the republican and local soviets of people's deputies.

[Markin] Gennadiy Matveyevich, a process of reduction is currently taking place within the armed forces. How is this process proceeding in aviation?

[Benov] Well, any reduction is a difficult process, in so far as it involves not only a technical side but also touches upon social and moral aspects, and because at its heart there are, after all, living, real people. Moreover, I will say plainly that it is precisely from this aspect that we political workers most frequently encounter difficulties, that is, in the process of reduction. These are: the housing problem; the provision of amenities for families; schools; kindergartens; finding jobs for the wives of servicemen; and much else which in general, is necessary in our daily lives. These problems are also made acute by the fact that many tens of thousands of officers in the air forces today, including some of the flying personnel, have no housing at all. We have an acute shortage of preschool establishments, schools, hospitals. Not all aviation garrisons have their own club, in fact.

[Markin] Well, it is said that no situation is hopeless.

[Benov] Well, today, the Military Council of the Air Forces is directly involved in solving these problems. In fact, 67 percent of all the financial resources of the Air Forces are now being directed toward the development of the social and cultural sphere. In 1989 alone, 1,012 apartments in different regions of the country have been allocated for airmen discharged from the Air Forces. Well, you can understand that that is not yet enough in order to completely relieve the situation. What is needed are energetic measures and aid from the commanders of military districts, from local party and Soviet bodies, in order to raise a more interested attitude to the needs of aviation garrisons among them. In the first instance, this relates to airmen serving in Siberia, the Transbaykal, Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and the Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Laxity in Weapons Storage Permits Thefts

PM2108120189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Captain 1st Rank V. Shirokov report: "Assault Rifles at a Fair Price. How Do Weapons Lost by Military Units End Up in Criminal Hands?"]

[Text] Pacific Fleet—In early March 1987 Sailors S. Kasilov and A. Pashchenko and S. Grigoryev, a former Navy employee, stole 15 grenades from an arms depot. Then they sold them to various citizens in order to make a profit and get drugs. Four grenades were sold to citizen Matsuk, and he in turn passed them on to his friends. More and more people featured among the purchasers. They exchanged grenades for drugs and manufactured goods, or sold them for money—at R30 each.

The criminals did not go unpunished, and most of the stolen grenades have been found. But not all of them. One of the grenades, falling into the hands of a certain A. Myskin, created a great commotion at the station in Vladivostok and caused a lot of trouble for the Navy sappers who removed it from a briefcase which had been put in the checkroom (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA covered this in its 9 April issue this year).

At the Pacific Fleet military tribunal I was also told about incidents in which criminals had sold stolen assault rifles and pistols at a fair price. They have all been punished. But it is astonishing that the people responsible for the registration and safekeeping of weapons remain, as a rule, in the background and sometimes bear no responsibility at all. Take, for example, an instance in the unit where Captain 1st Rank Kiriyak serves.

When the unit commander found out that ammunition had gone missing from the depot, he did not start an inquiry in good time and was in no hurry to report what had happened either to the command or to the prosecutor. This meant that he virtually concealed the loss of the ammunition. Lieutenant Colonel A. Sadov, the department chief, followed a similar path. When he discovered a box of grenades behind the dump's revetment, he did not report it to anyone, and virtually concealed the crime from the command.

Admittedly, immediately after the person who had stolen the grenades was sentenced, a report indicating the reasons for what had happened and naming the guilty parties was sent to Rear Admiral B. Revenkov, the chief of the directorate. And, as the law stipulates, the superior command was ordered to take measures and then report on this to the court.

Rear Admiral B. Revenkov did not consider it necessary to deal with such "trivial matters" and ordered the... unit commander himself to answer the report. Of course, the unit commander wasn't going to punish himself. He answered that such and such has been stepped up, strict supervision has been introduced in such and such an area, and the shortcomings have been taken into account in such and such an area and will not happen again...

According to all the rules, the court is supposed to check the accuracy of a reply and keep it on file. This did not happen and no one bore responsibility for the scandalous incident.

Let us focus on yet another criminal case. Last year from August through October Sailors S. Khalturin and V. Morozov stole explosives and ammunition, prepared TNT charges, and brought them to their colleagues on board ship.

The court established that the very poor state of the storage facilities helped Khalturin and Morozov to carry out the theft of ammunition and explosives. They could get into them without breaking the seals.

In this connection the military tribunal sent a report to the appropriate authority. The answer was not long in coming. It reported that the unit commander had been censured for failing to scrupulously fulfill his duties regarding organizing the safekeeping of weapons and ammunition. Captain 2d Rank P. Stepanov, Captain Lieutenant G. Toluzakov, and Warrant Officer N. Ulyanov, the other people to blame for the incident, had been disciplined. Warrant Officer S. Kovalenko was discharged from the Armed Forces. It was further reported that a full inventory had been made of the weapons and ammunition, and the storage facilities have been brought fully into line with requirements.

The military tribunal checked this report. It turned out that as of the day of the check Captain 2d Rank P. Stepanov, Captain Lieutenant G. Toluzakov, and Warrant Officer N. Ulyanov, who were responsible for ensuring the safety of the weapons and ammunition, had not been disciplined. As before, a number of storage facilities did not provide secure storage because their doors did not have bolts or locks. Examining the storage facilities, the inspectors saw that not only did the doors of some of them not shut properly, but that there were even gaps in the walls. And in one of the storage facilities the window frames were not secured, and boxes of explosives were kept right next to them. There was no proper alarm system at the facilities. As far back as last year security equipment was allocated for this. But the unit command did not receive it.

Why do officials show such a formal and indifferent attitude to the court's reports? Because the military tribunal utilizes only minimum measures of influence against persons who permit irresponsibility in the storage of weapons. The report, a reminder—and that is probably all. Responsibility degenerates into an exchange of paperwork.

"We have had to ask the Navy Command to issue a document setting out information about military tribunals' reports and the effectiveness of measures taken by commanders to implement the demands contained in them," Colonel of Justice V. Savin, chairman of the Pacific Fleet Military Tribunal, said. "I think that this proposal will help to get things moving."

I would like to believe this. But it is already clear now that this is a half-measure. I am sure that if the law had been properly applied to the people who had been negligent, the storage of the weapons would have been really safe. Order cannot be imposed in this work without high exactingness and strict legal responsibility on the part of officials.

Military Prosecutors Discuss Thefts

PM2108131589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

[Colonel of Justice A. Rybchinskiy report: "At the Main Military Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] An enlarged sitting of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office Collegium was held and examined the question of how the prosecutor's office is supervising enforcement of legislation designed to prevent and suppress theft and losses of firearms, munitions, and explosives.

According to USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs data, several thousand small arms are being traced at present, one in five of which, moreover, were issued by the Ministry of Defense.

Weapons thefts were most widespread in the Transbaykal, Far East, Turkestan, Belorussian, and Transcaucasus Military Districts and the Pacific and Baltic Fleets. They account for more than half of these crimes. In the first half of this year the overall number of these crimes within the Armed Forces rose by 13.1 percent.

Considering the prevailing situation, military prosecutors, cooperating with military authorities, political organs, staffs, the Army and Navy community, the KGB, the USSR MVD, and other law-enforcement organs, are taking comprehensive steps to prevent and suppress theft and loss of weapons, munitions, and explosives.

Major General Dies; Yazov Signs Obituary
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[Obituary of Major General N.A. Koven]

[Excerpts] Major General Nikolay Adamovich Koven has died tragically. [passage omitted]

He held a number of command posts in succession. Recently he successfully commanded an army. [passage omitted]

D.T. Yazov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, K.A. Kochetov, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, Yu.A. Yashin, M.D. Popkov, D.A. Grinkevich, B.V. Snetkov, N.A. Moiseyev, V.I. Fursin, B.I. Sosedov, N.V. Kireyev, N.P. Safronov.